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MEMOIRS

OF THE

CARDINAL DE RETZ;

TRANSLATED FROM THE

FRENCH.

VOL. III.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

CARDINAL DE RETZ;

TRANSLATED FROM THE

FRENCH,

WITH

NOTES.

VOL. III.

LONDON:

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

CARDINAL DE RETZ;

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

To MADAM DE * * * *.

BOOK III.

MADAM,

I MUST beg of you not to be ſurprized, if in the ſequel of this narration you do not find the ſame exactneſs which I have hitherto obſerved in what relates to the aſſemblies of the parliament. The court having removed from Paris to go into Berry and into Poitou, immediately after the king's being declared of age, which was upon the 7th of September 1651, and the Duke of Orleans keeping an even hand between the Queen and the Prince, there appeared not upon the ſtage of the parliament near ſo many actors as before; ſo that from the 7th of September to the opening of the parliament on the next St. Martin's day, which was on the 20th of November, it may be ſaid that no conſiderable ſcenes appeared there, except thoſe of the 7th and of the 14th of October. The Duke in the aſſemblies held on theſe days told the company that the King had ſent him a full power to treat with the Prince, and that he had named to go along with him, and to aſſiſt him in this negotiation, Meſſieurs d'Aligre and de la Marguerie counſellors of ſtate, and Meſſieurs de Meſmes, Menar-

deau, and Cumont, of the parliament. This negotiation came to nothing, becauſe the Prince refuſed to accept the offer which the Duke had made him to go and confer * with him at Richelieu, as being a captious propoſal of the court, made with a deſign to leſſen the ardour of thoſe that were willing to engage with him. Upon the 26th of this month they had the news at Paris that the Prince was arrived at Bourdeaux on the 12th; and the ſame day that the news came, the King went to Fontainbleau, where he was informed in the evening, that if the court would advance to Bourges, the partiſans of the Prince would certainly leave that town. Meſſieurs de Chateauneuf and de Villeroi preſſed the Queen extremely not to give time to Perſan to throw himſelf into it with the gentry of the province; and the court going thither accordingly, and the chiefeſt inhabitants having declared for the King, the reſt ſurrendered without ſtriking a blow. Palluau was left with a ſmall body of troops to block up Montrond, which was defended by Perſan. The Prince of Conti and Madam de Longueville retired to Bourdeaux with all manner of haſte. Mr. de Nemours went along with them, during which journey he attached himſelf to Madam de Longueville, more than Madam de Châtillon and Mr. de la Rochefoucaut were willing he ſhould. The Prince thought that he had engaged Mr. de Longueville to be of his party, in the conference he had with him at Trie; but it proved without effect, Mr. de Longueville ſtaying at Roüen. The movement which the troops commanded by the Count de Tavannes about Stenay, made by order of the Prince after he had quitted the court, had not a much greater effect, becauſe the Count de Grand-pré, who

* Mr. de la Rochefoucaut ſays in his Memoirs, that the end of that conference was not to make peace, but only to hinder the Prince from making war; at a time when the bodies politick all over the kingdom were about to declare themſelves.—The Prince beſides was unwilling to truſt his intereſts in the Duke of Orleans's hands, becauſe of his union with the coadjutor his enemy, and of the union of that prelate with the court.

had

had left the Prince's service out of discontent, made likewise a movement near Ville Franche, and another near Givet, which kept the Prince's troops in awe.

In compensation for that, the desertion of Marsin in Catalonia was of great weight. He commanded in that province when the Princes were arrested, and as he was known to be very particularly attached to the Prince of Condé, the court thought not convenient to confide in him. Orders were sent to the intendant to seize his person. He was set at liberty at the same time that the princes were, and he was even restored to his post. When the Prince left the court after his imprisonment, and took his way into Guienne, the Queen thought upon winning Marsin, and sent him a patent of viceroy of Catalonia which he had passionately wished for, adding to it all manner of promises for the future. But having been timely informed of the Prince's leaving the court, and of what he had resolved upon, he stood in fear of being treated as he was the time before. He therefore quitted Catalonia before the Queen's dispatch had reached him, and got into Languedoc, with Baltons, Lussan, Monpouillan, le Marcousse, and as many of his troops as he could get away. That desertion gave a wonderful advantage to the Spaniards in Catalonia, and it may be said that it cost France that province.

The Prince in the mean while neglected nothing on the side of Guienne. He brought over to his party the whole nobility and gentry of that province. Even the old Mareschal de la Force declared for him; and the Count du Doignon, Governor of Brouage, who owed his fortune entirely to the Duke de Brezé, thought himself obliged to shew his gratitude to the Princess of Condé, who was sister to his benefactor.

The Prince of Condé did not forget to seek for support abroad. Lainé was sent into Spain, where he concluded that Prince's treaty with his Catholic Majesty; and the Arch-duke, who commanded in the Netherlands, and who had taken Bergue-St.-Vinox, made preparations on his side, which afterwards cost

France Dunkirk and Gravelines, and which from the time of those preparations obliged the court to keep upon that frontier part of the troops, which had otherwise been very necessary in Guienne. These clouds however did not all the harm, at least within the kingdom, that might have been feared from their thickness and blackness. The Prince, in the levies he made, was not served as his quality and his person deserved. The Mareschal de la Force acted not in his private capacity, in a manner answerable to the rest of his actions. The forts at Rochelle, which were in the Count du Doignon's hands, held out but a very little while against the Count d'Harcourt, who commanded the King's army. The Spaniards, who had Bourg, a place in the neighbourhood of Bourdeaux, put into their hands, succoured it but in a weak manner. All that the Prince could do was only the taking the town of Agen and that of Saintes. He was obliged to raise the siege from before Coignac; and the greatest general in the world, without exception, learnt himself, or rather taught to others on all these occasions, that the most heroick valour and the most extraordinary capacity, are able to support but with a great deal of difficulty, new-raised forces, against old disciplined troops.

Having resolved from the beginning of these Memoirs to insist only upon matters of which I have had a particular knowledge, I touch upon what passed in Guienne, in the first movements of the Prince, but in a very slight manner, and but just as much as the knowledge of them is necessary to you, for the connection they have with what I am to relate of the things that passed under my eyes at Paris, and of what I could discover of the designs of the court.

From Bourges, where I have said that the court went, it advanced to Poitiers that it might be nearer at hand to oppose the Prince's steps. As they came to perceive there that the Prince did not fall into the trap which they had laid for him, by means of a negotiation, in which, as they pretended, though wrong-

wrongfully in my opinion, they had brought Gourville to be of their ſide, they ceaſed to keep any manner of meaſures with him, and the Queen ſent a declaration * to the parliament againſt him, whereby ſhe declared him guilty of high treaſon. This to my thinking was the critical moment that gave riſe to the revolution that enſued. There are but very few people that have known the true myſtery of it, though there was not one but thought that he had found it out. Some have fancied that that myſtery conſiſted in the cabals which, as they would perſuade themſelves, had been made at court, for and againſt the King's journey. But nothing is falſer. That journey was undertaken by the general advice of every one. The Queen longed with impatience to get free, and be at a place where ſhe might recall the Cardinal when ſhe pleaſed. The ſub-miniſters, by all their letters, encouraged the thought ſhe had. The Duke wiſhed more than any one the removal of the court, becauſe his natural and predominant temper made him always find a great pleaſure in every thing that might diminiſh the reſpects which the King's preſence obliged him conſtantly to pay. Mr. de Chateauneuf added to his deſire of rendring the Prince, by ſome new ſtep that would make a noiſe, ſtill more irreconcileable to the court, the view of introducing himſelf into the Queen's favour, during a journey in which the abſence of the Cardinal and the removal of the ſub-miniſters, gave him room to hope that he might ſtill render himſelf both more agreeable and more neceſſary. The firſt preſident concurred in it to the beſt of his power, both becauſe he thought that journey extremely uſeful to the King's ſervice, and becauſe the haughtineſs with which Mr. de Chateauneuf treated him, was become inſupportable to him. Mr. de la Vieuville

* Joli ſays, that the Duke of Orleans hindered for a fortnight together that declaration from being verified, but that the party of the court, to which the Coadjutor's friends joined themſelves, carried it at laſt, ſo that it was read and regiſtered at the parliament on the 4th of December 1651.

was not ſorry, as it appeared to me, not to be too narrowly watched during the firſt days of his exercising his office of Superintendant of the Finances; and Bordeaux, who was his chief confident, ſpoke to me in a manner that expreſſed even ſome impatience that the King was not already gone. The Frondeurs were not leſs impatient for the King's going, both becauſe they ſaw the real neceſſity there was, not to give the Prince time to ſettle himſelf beyond the Loire, and becauſe they thought that they might reckon upon the Duke in a much ſurer manner when he was at ſome diſtance from the court, than when he was near it. This was what appeared to me of the diſpoſition in which every body, without exception, was in reſpect to the King's journey; and I cannot comprehend what ground thoſe could have, that have reported, and even, if I miſtake not, publiſhed in writing, the diverſity of opinions that were delivered at the council-board, upon that ſubject.

You may therefore ſee that there was no manner of myſtery in the King's going; but in recompence, there was a great deal in what followed that going, becauſe every body found in it the reverſe of what he had imagined. The Queen met in it, by the obſtacles which Mr. de Chateauneuf formed againſt the recalling of the Cardinal, more trouble beyond compariſon, than that which ſhe had had at Paris. The ſub-miniſters were mortally afraid that uſe and neceſſity ſhould at laſt ſettle in the Queen's mind, not only Mr. de Chateauneuf, but likewiſe Mr. de Villeroi, who ſeemed weary of their advice. On the other hand, Mr. de Chateauneuf did not find his hopes ſo well grounded as he expected, the Queen continuing all the while in an intimate concert with the Cardinal, and with all thoſe that were truly devoted to his intereſt. The Duke ſoon became leſs ſenſible to the pleaſure of being free, which the abſence of the court afforded him, than to the jealouſy which quickly aroſe in him from the reports that were ſpread abroad of ſome ſecret negotiations, which he thought the more dangerous

by

by reaſon of his being ſo far diſtant from the court. Mr. de la Vieuville, who was more afraid of Mazarin, than any body, told me a fortnight after the King had left Paris, that we had all been great fools in not oppoſing it. I owned it both in my name and in the name of all the Frondeurs. I ſtill continue to own it now very ſincerely, and I think this fault one of the greateſt that any one could have committed on this occaſion: I mean any one of thoſe that did not wiſh for the return of the Cardinal Mazarin; for as to thoſe that were in his intereſt, it is certain that they acted as they ought to do. What made us commit that fault, was the natural inclination which all men have to ſeek rather for preſent eaſe, than for what may bring them eaſe afterwards. I fell into it as all the reſt did, and the example of others makes me not the leſs aſhamed of it. Our overſight was ſo much the greater, and more unpardonable, becauſe we had foreſeen the inconveniencies of it, which indeed were not only viſible but palpable; and becauſe we choſe to run the riſk of the greater to avoid the ſmaller. There was beyond compariſon leſs danger for us in letting the Prince take breath and fortify himſelf in Guienne, than in ſetting the Queen at full liberty to recall her favourite. This errour is one of thoſe which has, I think, obliged me to tell you ſometimes, that the moſt ordinary cauſe of people's miſtakes are their being too much frightened at the preſent danger, and not enough ſo at that which is remote. It was not long before we felt, as well as learnt, that capital faults that are committed in a party which is oppoſed to the royal authority, confound the whole party ſo entirely, that it is hardly poſſible for thoſe that have had a hand in committing thoſe faults, not to be reduced to the neceſſity of committing new ones, let them behave themſelves never ſo wiſely. I explain myſelf. The Duke having properly put into the Queen's hands the recalling of the Cardinal, had now but three ways to follow; of which one was, to conſent to his return; another, to oppoſe it in concert with the Prince of Condé; and the laſt, to form a

third party in the ſtate. The firſt of theſe ways was ſhameful, after the publick engagements into which he had entered; the ſecond had but little ſafety in it, by reaſon of the continual negotiations, which the ſub-diviſions of the Prince's party were daily and inevitably the occaſion of; the third was dangerous for the ſtate, and beſides impracticable on the Duke's ſide, becauſe it was above his genius.

Mr. de Chateauneuf being with the court at a diſtance from Paris, had no other way but the flattering the Queen with the hopes of her miniſter's return, or the oppoſing that return by the obſtacles which he might form by his court intrigues. The firſt of theſe ways was ruinous, becauſe the preſent ſtate of affairs ſhewed the hopes of that return to be too near to pretend to find means to baffle them; the ſecond was chimerical, conſidering the Queen's humour and obſtinacy.

As to myſelf, in what manner could I behave that might be accounted wiſe and judicious? I was neceſſarily obliged, either to ſerve the Queen according to her deſire, for the return of the Cardinal; or to oppoſe it jointly with the Duke; or to keep a middle way between theſe two. I was beſides neceſſitated, either to come to an accommodation with the Prince, or to remain upon the ſame terms I was. But what ſafety could I meet with in all theſe ſeveral ways? My declaring for the Cardinal's return had irretrievably ruined me, with the Duke, the parliament, and the people; and for my ſurety I muſt have depended on Mazarin's word. My joining with the Duke againſt Mazarin's return, would according to all manner of rules have occaſioned a quarter of an hour after a revocation of my nomination to the cardinalſhip. As to the Prince, could I remain with him upon the terms I was, ſuppoſing the Duke joined with him, and I with the Duke? Could I come, on the other hand, to an accommodation with the Prince, at the time that the Queen declared that ſhe reſolved upon my nomination, merely upon my promiſing her that I would

not

not come to an accommodation with him? The King's ſtay at Paris muſt have kept the Queen within ſuch bounds as would have prevented many of theſe inconveniencies, and would have leſſened the others. We contributed to the King's journey, when it was in our power to have obſtructed it by many imperceptible means. What happened of it is what always happens to thoſe that loſe certain inſtants which are critical and deciſive in affairs. For finding now that we had not any good way left, every one of us choſe that wherein he perceived the leaſt evil; which never fails to produce two ill effects: the one is, that ſuch a medley of views is always confuſed; and the other, that the diſtinguiſhing of theſe views can never happen but by a mere work of chance. I ſhall explain this, and apply it to the matter now in queſtion, after I have given you an account of ſome pretty curious and remarkable facts that happened at that time.

The Queen, who had always had in her thoughts the reſtoring of Cardinal Mazarin, began, as ſoon as ſhe found herſelf free, not to conſtrain herſelf ſo much in relation to his return; and Meſſieurs de Chateauneuf and de Villeroi found, as ſoon as the court was arrived at Poitiers, that the hopes which they had conceived were not, at leaſt by the event, well grounded. The ſucceſs which the Count d'Harcourt had had in Guienne; the conduct of the parliament of Paris, who was againſt the Cardinal, but who forbad under pain of death the levies which the Prince made to oppoſe his return; the diviſions which appeared publickly in the Duke's family, between thoſe that were attached to the Prince, and thoſe that were my friends; encouraged thoſe that ſupported the Cardinal's intereſt with the Queen. The Queen herſelf had but too much courage in things which ſhe was inclined to. D'Hocquincourt, who went ſecretly to Breull, ſhewed the Cardinal a liſt of 8000 men ready to receive him upon the frontiers, and to carry him in a triumphant manner as far as Poitiers. I have learnt of one who was preſent at their converſation, that nothing touched him more ſenſibly than the thoughts of ſeeing an army

bearing his colours (for D'Hocquincourt had taken green colours to honour the Cardinal) and that this weakneſs in him was obſerved by every body. The Queen, however, continued in the way of negotiating, at the ſame time that ſhe projected to make uſe of that of arms. Gourville took ſeveral journeys in favour of the Prince. Bertet came to Paris to bring over to the Cardinal's intereſt Mr. de Bouillon, Mr. de Turenne and me. This ſcene is curious enough to dwell a little longer upon it. I have already told you that Meſſieurs de Bouillon and de Turenne had left the Prince's party. They lived very retired in Paris, and except their particular friends, they were ſeen but by few perſons. I was of that number; and knowing, as well as any other at leaſt, of what merit and weight theſe gentlemen were, I omitted nothing, both to apprize the Duke of it, and to engage the two brothers in his intereſt. His natural averſion to the eldeſt, which he could give no reaſon for, hindered him from doing what he owed to himſelf on this occaſion; and the contempt which the youngeſt had for him, for a reaſon beſt known to himſelf, did not help to make my negotiation ſucceed. That of Bertet, who arrived at Paris juſt at this time, became but one between the two brothers and myſelf, by the means of the Princeſs Palatine, who was equally a friend to us three, and to whom Bertet had orders to addreſs himſelf directly.

She aſſembled us at her houſe betwixt twelve and one at night, where ſhe preſented Bertet to us, who after a torrent of expreſſions worthy a Gaſcon, told us that the Queen, who was reſolved to recal the Cardinal, was unwilling to execute her reſolution without hearing what we had to ſay to it. Mr. de Bouillon, who ſwore to me an hour after in the preſence of the Princeſs Palatine, that he had not to that day received any propoſals from the court, at leaſt in form, ſeemed to me imbarraſſed; but he got off in his uſual manner, that is, as a man that knew better than any body that I have ever ſeen, how to ſpeak the moſt, when he ſaid

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the leaſt. Mr. de Turenne, who was more laconick, and in truth much more frank, turned towards me and ſaid: 'I believe that Mr. Bertet pulls by the ſleeve 'all thoſe he meets with in the ſtreets with black cloaths 'on, to aſk their opinion about the return of the Cardi- 'nal, for I do not ſee any more reaſon to aſk it of my 'brother and me, than of all thoſe that have this day 'paſſed over the Pontneuf.' 'There is much leſs 'reaſon to aſk it of me,' anſwered I, 'for there are 'perſons who have this day paſſed upon the Pontneuf, 'who might give their advice on the matter; but the 'Queen knows that this is a ſubject which I dare not 'enter upon.' Bertet replied to me bluntly, and without the leaſt heſitation: 'And what will then 'become of your Hat?' 'What it ſhall pleaſe Provi- 'dence,' anſwered I. 'But what return will you 'make the Queen for it?' added he. 'What I have 'told her a hundred times over,' anſwered I. 'I will 'come to no accommodation with the Prince, if my 'nomination is not revoked. But I will be friends 'with him to-morrow, and be one of his party, if 'they continue ſo much as to threaten me with it.' The converſation grew warm, but however it ended tolerably well; and Mr. de Bouillon obſerved as well as I, that Bertet's order was to reſt contented with what I had ſo often told the Queen upon that account, in caſe he could get no more from me.

As to Meſſieurs de Bouillon and de Turenne, the confabulation which Bertet had with them was much ſtronger. I call it confabulation out of jeſt, becauſe nothing was more ridiculous than to ſee a little inſignificant fellow, ſprung from the borders of Gaſcony, take it upon him to perſuade two of the greateſt men in the world to commit the greateſt piece of folly imaginable, which was to declare for the court before they had taken any meaſures there. They would not therefore hearken to what Bertet ſaid to them at that time; but they entered ſoon after into ſure meaſures with the court. Mr. de Turenne had the promiſe of commanding the armies, and Mr. de Bouillon had

assurances given him of the immense recompence which he has since had in lieu of Sedan. They were so kind as to intrust me with the secret of their accommodation, though I was of a contrary party, and their confidence in me proved quickly after the cause that they were not taken up.

The Duke, who was informed that they went to serve the King, and that they were to leave Paris upon such a day, and at such an hour, told me just as I came to take my leave of them, that it was necessary to arrest them, and that he was going to order the Viscount d'Autel, captain of his guards, to do it. I leave you to judge what trouble this put me to, when I came on one side to consider the just occasion I should give to think that I had betrayed my friends secret, and on the other what means I could make use of to prevent the Duke from executing what he had resolved. I began by expressing the doubt I was in about the truth of the information that had been given him. I represented to him the inconveniency of offending upon a mere suspicion, persons of that quality and of that merit; and when I perceived that he relied upon his information, which in effect was very certain, and that he persisted in his resolution, I changed my note, and thought only upon delaying the thing till they had time to get away safe. Fortune favoured my design: The Viscount d'Autel that was sent for, could not be found. The Duke amused himself about a medal which Bruneau brought him very a-propos; and I had time to send Mr. de Turenne word by Varennes, whom I met with by great luck, to escape without losing one moment of time; and in this manner the Viscount d'Autel missed the two brothers by two or three hours. The Duke's vexation at it lasted not much longer; and five or six days after, having found him in good humour, I told him the thing. He did not take it amiss, and he was even so kind as to tell me, that if I had opened myself to him at the time that he mentioned the thing to me, he had given the preference to my interest in the thing, which

was

was much more conſiderable than his was, by reaſon of the ſecret with which I had been entruſted. This adventure was not an obſtacle, as you may think, to the ſtrengthening the old friendſhip that was between Mr. Turenne and me.

You have already ſeen, in more than one place of theſe Memoirs, that Mr. de la Rochefoucaut's friendſhip for me was not upon the ſame foot. A mark I received of it, which deſerves not to be omitted, is this. Mr. Talon, who is now ſecretary of the King's cloſet, and was even at that time attached to the intereſt of the Cardinal, came one morning into my chamber as I was in bed; and after making me a compliment, and naming himſelf, (for I did not ſo much as know him by ſight) he told me that though he was not in my intereſt, he thought himſelf obliged to give me notice of the danger which I ran. That his deteſtation for evil acts, and his reſpect for my perſon, obliged him to tell me, that Gourville, and la Roche Corbon, who belonged to Mr. de la Rochefoucaut, and was major of the garriſon of Damvilliers, had like to have aſſaſſinated me the day before upon the key which is over-againſt the Pont-Bourbon. I returned thanks, as you may well judge, to Mr. Talon, for whom I ſhall certainly preſerve ſo long as I live a heart full of gratitude. But being uſed to receive advices of this nature, I did not make due reflection upon the name and the merit of the perſon that gave me this notice, and I was not prevented by it from going the next evening to Madam de Pomereux's alone in my coach, with no other followers but two pages, and three or four footmen. Mr. Talon came again to me the next morning; and after having expreſſed ſome ſurprize, at the little attention I had to his firſt advice, he told me that the gentlemen he had ſpoke to me of, had again miſſed me about a quarter of an hour, near the Blancs-manteaux, the night before about nine, which was juſt the time I came away from Madam de Pomereux. This ſecond advice, which ſeemed to me more particular than the other, awakened me from my lethargy,

lethargy. I kept upon my guard, and walked abroad in a condition not to be surprized. I enquired, by means of Mr. Talon himself, of the whole detail. I got la Roche Corbon arrested and examined before the Lieutenant-criminel. He said he was ordered by Mr. de la Rochefoucaut to take me away by force and carry me to Damvilliers: that for that purpose he had taken with him sixty chosen men out of the garrison of that place, which he had got into Paris one by one; that Gourville and he having observed that I came away every night from the Hôtel de Chevreuse, between twelve and one, with ten or twelve gentlemen only, in two coaches, they had posted their men under the arch which is over-against the Pont-Bourbon; that perceiving upon such a night that I had taken a contrary way to that of the key, they lay in wait for me the next night near the Blancs-manteaux, where they had again missed me, because the man who was to have watched my coming from Madam de Pomereux's had spent his time in drinking at a tavern that was near. This is la Roche Corbon's deposition, of which the Lieutenant-criminel shewed the Duke of Orleans the original in my presence. You will easily believe that after such a confession it had not been a difficult matter for me to get him broke upon the wheel, and that if he had been put to the rack, he had perhaps confessed something more than a design of carrying me away forcibly. The Count de Pas, brother to Mr. de Feuquieres, and to the present Count de Pas, to whom I had a very great obligation, came to intreat me to give him his life, which I granted him. I obliged the Duke to order the Lieutenant-criminel to cease his proceedings, and as the Duke was telling me, that it ought at least to be carried as far as the rack, to draw from him the whole truth, I answered him in the hearing of all those that were present: 'Tis something so brave, Sir, so gallant, and so extraordinary, to men that undertake things of this nature, to expose themselves to utter ruin, if they fail to execute an action as difficult as

that

'that of taking away forcibly a man who never goes 'by night unaccompanied, and of carrying him ſixty 'leagues beyond the frontiers of France; I ſay, 'tis 'ſomething ſo gallant to run that riſk, rather than 'reſolve upon aſſaſſinating the perſon; that 'tis beſt 'in my opinion not to penetrate too far, for fear of 'diſcovering ſomething that diſfigures a generoſity 'which does honour to our age.' Every one laughed at what I ſaid, and perhaps you will do the like. The truth is, that I was willing to ſhew my gratitude to the Count de Pas, who had obliged me very ſenſibly two or three months before, by ſending me back, gratis, all the cattle of Commercy which was his by the rules of war, having re-taken it after the twenty four hours allowed. I was afraid that if the matter was carried farther, and that the deſign of an aſſaſſination, which was already but too viſible, was once fully proved, it would be no longer in my power to get that unhappy gentleman out of the hands of the parliament. I cauſed the proceedings to ceaſe by the inſtances I made to the Lieutenant-criminel. I intreated the Duke to cauſe the priſoner to be by his authority removed to the Baſtille, the Duke refuſing to ſet him at liberty, though I preſſed him to do it. The priſoner however found means to eſcape five or ſix months after, being but very ſlightly guarded. A gentleman who belongs to me, whoſe name is Malclerc, having got with him la Forêt, Lieutenant to the Provoſt de Lille, arreſted Gourville at Montlhery, as he was paſſing through that place to go to the court, where Mr. de la Rochefoucaut had always ſome ſecret negotiations; for Gourville had not been above three or four hours under arreſt, when an order came from the firſt preſident to ſet him free.

It muſt be own'd that I could not have eſcaped that enterprize but by a kind of miracle. The day that they miſſed me upon the key, I went to Mr. de Caumartin, to whom I ſaid that I was ſo weary of riding always in the ſtreets with five or ſix coaches full of gentle-

gentlemen, and of fire arms, that I desired him to take me into his, and to carry me without any liveries to the Hôtel de Chevreuse, where I intended to be betimes, though my design was to sup there. Mr. de Caumartin made many difficulties about it, because of the danger to which I was continually exposed; and he consented to it only upon my promising that he should be rid of his charge at my return, and that my people should wait on me in the evening at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, as it was their custom to do. Upon my promising this, I sat myself down at the back part of his coach, the curtains being half way down; and I remember that meeting upon the key with some men with buff-coats, he said to me: 'These men lie perhaps here in wait for you.' I made then no manner of reflection upon it; I spent the whole evening at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, and at my coming away it happened that I had but nine gentlemen to accompany me, which was a very unfit number to prevent my being assassinated. Madam de Rhodes, who had that evening a mourning coach quite new, finding that it rained, desired me to take her into my coach, fearing her own would daub her. I excused it at first, bantering her upon her nicety. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse came running after me to the stair-case, and obliged me to do it; and this was what saved my life, because I passed through the street of St. Honoré to go to the Hôtel de Brissac, where madam de Rhodes lodged, by which means they missed me upon the key. If you add to this circumstance, that of the Blanc-manteaux, and if you reflect on the uncommon generosity of Mr. Talon, who being of a party so directly opposite to mine, was yet so honest as to give me notice of this enterprize, you will confess that no man has it in his power to dispose of the life of another man. I now come to what I have promised you in respect to the consequences which the King's journey produced.

I think that I was telling you that being convinced in less than a fortnight's time, that after the fault we had

had committed there was no way left for us to take but what was accompanied with terrible inconveniencies, we at last chose one that was, as it always proves in like cases, the most dangerous of all, because we came to no general determination, but every one of us was left to follow the way he thought least hurtful. The Duke did not take up arms with the Prince, and thought thereby that he did much for the court. He declared himself in Paris and in the parliament against Mazarin's return, fancying that that was sufficient to satisfy the public. Mr. de Chateauneuf continued for some time, whilst the court was at Poitiers, to think that he might amuse the Queen by putting her in hopes of restoring her favourite at such conjunctures as he thought remote. But when he came to perceive that the impatience of the Queen and the eagerness of the Cardinal had brought these conjunctures much nearer than he expected, he resolved upon speaking plainly, and upon opposing directly Mazarin's return; which he did with that sort of freedom which always proves as useless as it is odious, when it is only made use of in default of success in one's artifice. The parliament, who was too far engaged against Mazarin to suffer his being restored, appeared exasperated at the least signs that were seen of it. But on the other side, being unwilling to do any thing contrary to form and to the King's authority, those of that body were themselves breaking all the measures that might be taken in order to prevent Mazarin's being restored. As to myself, I was against it as much as any body; but being as much against the Prince's being restored, for the reasons which I have mentioned before, I was forced against my will to contribute to the first, by a conduct, which, though judicious for the present, because it was necessary, was inexcusable in its first principle, which was the committing one of those capital errors after which it is impossible to do any thing wisely. This was at last the thing that undid us all, as you will see by the sequel.

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The Duke, who was the man in the world who loved beſt to invent reaſons that might prevent his coming to any determination, had all along been perſuading himſelf that the Queen would never bring to effect the intention, which he owned ſhe had and would always have, of recalling the Cardinal to court. When is was no longer in his power to deceive himſelf, he thought that the only remedy would be to imbarraſs the Queen without exaſperating her; and I obſerved on this occaſion what I have done on many others, That men are naturally led to fancy that they will amuſe others by the ſame means that they would themſelves be amuſed by. The Duke never came to act but when he was preſſed to it, and Fremont uſed to call him the inventor of interlocutory decrees. Of all the means that could be uſed to preſs him to act, the moſt effectual and infallible was that of fear; ſo that when he was free from that paſſion he would naturally remain unactive. The ſame temper that cauſes this diſpoſition, cauſes likewiſe a diſpoſition to reſolve upon nothing till you are neceſſitated to do it. The Duke judged of the Queen's diſpoſition by his own; and I remember that one day as I was repreſenting to him that it was not only prudent, but even neceſſary to change one's conduct according to the different minds of thoſe one has to do with; he anſwered me in theſe very words: 'That's a miſtake; every body thinks 'alike; but there are perſons that can better hide 'their thoughts than others.' The firſt reflection I made on theſe words was, that the greateſt imperfection that men have, is the pleaſure they take in perſuading themſelves that others are not free from the imperfections which they perceive themſelves ſubject to. The Duke was deceived in this occaſion, more ſtill than in any other; for the Queen's boldneſs was ſufficient, without any further exaſperation (which was the thing the Duke would avoid) to bring her to execute her reſolution; and that ſame boldneſs made her likewiſe overcome all the obſtacles whereby the Duke

Duke thought to traverſe her. He was ſtill willing to fancy that by not joining with the Prince, and by ſending ſometimes Mr. Damville, ſometimes Laumont to negociate for him at court, he ſhould amuſe the Queen, whom he thought he might reſtrain by the apprehenſion of his declaring againſt the court. He was likewiſe willing to fancy that by inciting the parliament againſt the return of the miniſter, which he did in a public manner, he ſhould only give the court that ſort of apprehenſion which is fitter to reſtrain than to hurry on. As the Duke ſpoke very well, he one day expreſſed his whole thoughts very finely upon that ſubject, to the preſident de Bellievre and to me, which however did not at all perſuade us. We oppoſed a multitude of reaſons to what he had ſaid; but as he was deſtroying all our reaſons, by repeating only what I have already mentioned, that is, by ſaying to us: 'We have committed the fault 'of letting the Queen go out of Paris; all our ſteps 'now cannot be but faulty, and we can reſolve upon 'nothing that is good; we muſt only go on as each 'day's occaſions ſhall require, and that being granted, 'there is nothing to be done but what I have ſaid:' It was on this occaſion that I propoſed to the Duke to form a third party, for which I have ſince received ſo many reproaches, and which I had thought on but two days before. You have here the whole plan of it.

I can ſay truly, and without vanity, that as ſoon as I ſaw the Queen out of Paris with an army, I took it almoſt for granted that the Cardinal's return was infallible; judging that the weakneſs of the Duke, the diſappointment of the parliament, the negotiations to which the ſeveral cabals that divided the Prince's party were altogether inclined, could not hold long againſt the Queen's obſtinacy and the weight of the royal authority. I have no deſign to value myſelf for having betimes diſcovered this, becauſe I am forced to own that having made this diſcovery only from the time that the court was got to Poitiers, I made it too late. I have already mentioned, and I cannot do it

too

too much, that a greater fault than ours was never committed, in not oppoſing the King's journey, which was ſtill aggravated becauſe nothing could be more obvious than the conſequences. This groſs miſtake into which every one of us fell in emulation of one another, is one of the cauſes that has ſometimes obliged me to tell you, that there are faults that can hardly proceed from humanity, being ſo very groſs that creatures endowed with common ſenſe could never, one would think, be guilty of them.

After I had enough conſider'd and weighed the conſequences of this, I thought of ſome means for repairing it as to my particular; and having made all the reflections on the ſtate of things which you have ſeen diſperſed in the preceeding pages, I found but two ways to come off, one of which I have mentioned before, the Duke, whoſe genius it ſuited with, having from the firſt and of himſelf entered into it. It might have ſuited with my intereſt, becauſe the Duke, by it, not declaring himſelf for the Prince, and continuing his negotiations at Court, gave me time thereby to ſollicit for my hat. But this way appeared good to me no farther than neceſſity abſolutely required it; becauſe it could not procure the advantage which it might perhaps give by the event to the poſt of Cardinal, without being very ſuſpicious to all thoſe who were in the intereſt of what was called the public. I was altogether unwilling to loſe that public, and this conſideration, added to the others, which I have mentioned before, made me be diſſatisfied with a conduct, the appearances of which were not good, and the ſucceſs beſides very uncertain. I therefore thought of another way, which was greater and nobler, and which I pitched upon for that reaſon without any heſitation: it was, to endeavour to bring the Duke to form publicly a third party, apart from the Prince, and compoſed of Paris, and of moſt of the great cities of the kingdom, which were very much diſpoſed to ſtir, and in ſome of which I had good intelligence.

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The count de * Fuenſaldagne, who thought that the diſtruſt I had of the Prince's ill-will to me, was the only thing that obliged me to keep ſome meaſures with the court, had ſent Don Antonia de la Cruſa to me, with ſome propoſals that gave me the firſt hint of the project which I am now ſpeaking of. That gentleman had offered to make a ſecret treaty with me, whereby he engaged to aſſiſt me with money, without obliging me to any thing that might diſcover my intelligence with Spain. The notion which I formed to myſelf from many other circumſtances that happened at that time, was to propoſe to the Duke to declare publicly in the parliament, that finding the Queen reſolved to reſtore Cardinal Mazarin to his former poſt, he was reſolved on his ſide to oppoſe it by all the ways which his birth and his public engagements would permit him to uſe; that it would agree neither with his prudence nor his honour to content himſelf with the remonſtrances of the parliament, which the Queen would at firſt elude, and contemn at laſt; whilſt the Cardinal was levying forces to enter into France, and to render himſelf maſter of the King's perſon, as he was already maſter of the Queen's inclinations; that being the King's uncle, he thought himſelf bound to tell the company that they were obliged in juſtice to join with him in a conjuncture, when properly ſpeaking the thing in queſtion was only the preſervation of their own arreſts, and of the declarations which were owing to their inſtances; that their prudence did no leſs require it, the company being well appriſed that the whole city conſpired with him in a deſign ſo neceſſary to the good of the kingdom; that he was unwilling to diſcover his mind ſo openly to them, before he had put himſelf in a condition that might permit him to aſſure them of the ſucceſs, conſidering the good order into which he

* So much mention having been made in theſe memoirs, of the Count de Fuenſaldagne and of the court of Bruſſels, ſome account will be given of them in the fourth volume, from the lord Clarendon's hiſtory.

had

had put affairs; that he had so much in ready money; that he was already sure of such and such places; and upon the whole, that what ought to move the company more than any other thing, and even oblige them to embrace with joy the happy necessity in which they found themselves to work jointly with him for the good of the kingdom, was the public engagement into which he entered from that moment with them, never to entertain any intelligence with the enemies of the state, and never to hearken either directly or indirectly, to any negotiation that was not proposed in full parliament, the chambers being assembled; finally, that he disowned all that the prince had transacted and was transacting with the Spaniards; and that for that reason, and because of the frequent and suspicious negotiations of all those of the Prince's party, he would have no other communication with him than what common civility required in respect to a Prince of his merit. This is what I proposed to the Duke, and what I supported with all the reasons that might shew the possibility of putting it in practice, of which I am still altogether persuaded. I enlarged upon the inconveniencies of the opposite conduct, and I foretold him all that he afterwards saw of the conduct of the parliament, where at the same time that they were giving out arrests against the Cardinal, they declared those that should oppose his return guilty of high treason.

The Duke remained fixed in his resolution; either because he was afraid, as he said he was, of the union of the great cities, which indeed might become dangerous to the state; or because he was afraid that the Prince should come to an accommodation with the Queen, and unite with her against him; to which evil I had however shewn him more than one remedy. What appeared to me was, that the burthen was too weighty for him to bear. The truth is that it was beyond his strength, and that for that reason I was in the wrong to press him about it. It is true, besides, that the union of the great cities, considering

the diſpoſition they were in, might have fatal conſequences. That made me ſcruple the thing, becauſe it is certain that I have always feared what might in effect prove prejudicial to the ſtate, and Caumartin could never approve that project for that reaſon. What hurried me into it, if I may ſay ſo, againſt my common way of acting, and againſt my inclination, was the confuſion into which we were going to fall by following the contrary way; and the ridicule of a conduct, whereby it appeared to me that we were all going to fight after the manner of the ancient Andabatæ *.

The ſecond converſation which I had upon this ſubject with the Duke in the great walk of the Tuilleries, was pretty curious, and by the event almoſt prophetical. I ſaid to his Royal Highneſs; 'What 'will become of you, Sir, when the Prince is re-'conciled with the court, or gone over into Spain? 'When the parliament ſhall give out arreſts againſt 'the Cardinal, and declare thoſe criminal that ſhall 'oppoſe his return? When you can no longer, with 'honour or ſafety, remain a Frondeur, or become a 'Mazarinian.' The Duke anſwered; 'I ſhall re-'main a ſon of France; you will become a Cardinal, 'and keep your coadjutorſhip.' To which I replied inſtantly, as if I had been moved by ſome enthuſiaſm: 'You will be a ſon of France confined at 'Blois, and I a Cardinal at the caſtle of Vincennes.' The Duke was not moved, whatever I could ſay; and ſo we were forced from day to day to bruſh on blind-fold, for ſo Patru called our way of acting. I will enter into the particulars of our conduct, after I have given you an account of a very vexatious thing that happened to me at that time.

Bertet, who was come to Paris, as you have already ſeen, to negotiate with Mr. de Bouillon, Mr. de Turenne, and me, had likewiſe the Queen's order to

* The Andabatæ were a ſort of Gladiators who, according to Cicero, fought blind-fold, whence the Latin proverb, Andabatarum more pugnare.

ſee

ſee Madam de Chevreuſe, and to try to perſuade her to attach herſelf ſtill more intimately to her than ſhe had hitherto done. He found her extremely well diſpoſed to his negotiation. Laigues was a man full of himſelf, and of a temper, beſides, the moſt changeable in the world. Mademoiſelle de Chevreuſe had ſome time before given me notice that he was every day telling her mother, that it was time to end this buſineſs, that all was run into confuſion, and that we were all of us at a nonplus. Bertet, who was a ſharp, piercing, and inſolent man, having perceived Laigue's foible, made a very cunning uſe of it; he threatened, he promiſed, and at laſt he engaged Madam de Chevreuſe to promiſe him that ſhe would no way oppoſe the return of the Cardinal *, and that in caſe ſhe could not perſuade me upon that article, ſhe would do her utmoſt to hinder Mr. de Noirmoutier, who was governor of Charleville and of Mont Olympe, from ſticking cloſe to my intereſt, though he had the government of theſe places only by my means. Noirmoutier ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by her, under colour of the hopes ſhe gave him from the court; ſo that when I would oblige him to offer his ſervices to the Duke, at the time that the Cardinal was entering into France with his troops, he declared to me that he belonged to the king; that in any thing that related perſonally to me, he would always paſs over all manner of conſiderations; but that in the preſent conjuncture, when the matter in queſtion was only a falling out between the Duke and the court, he thought it unfit for him to be wanting to his duty. You may judge how much I reſented this action. I complained of him in moſt bitter terms, and I carried my paſſion ſo far, that though I went every day to ſee Mademoiſelle de Chevreuſe, who declared herſelf openly againſt her mother on this

* I find in Madam de Motteville's Memoirs, a treaty pretended to be concluded between Cardinal Mazarin, Madam de Chevereuſe, Mr. de Chateauneuf, and the Coadjutor, for reſtoring the Cardinal, which ſhall be inſerted at length in the fourth volume.

occaſion, I ſaluted neither him nor Laigues, and I hardly opened my mouth to Madam de Chevreuſe. I return to my narration.

Upon the opening of the parliament at the St. Martin's of the year 1651, the company deputed Meſſieurs Doujat and Baron to the Duke of Orleans, who was at Limours, to deſire him to come and take his ſeat upon account of a declaration which the King had ſent to their bar upon the 8th of October, whereby he declared the Prince guilty of high treaſon.

The Duke came to the parliament on the 20th of November, and the firſt preſident having enlarged, even emphatically, upon all that paſſed in Guienne, concluded for regiſtering the declaration as a thing neceſſary, in order to obey the King's command, which was extremely juſt (that was his term). The Duke, who, as you have ſeen before, had reſolved otherwiſe, anſwered the firſt preſident, that this matter was not to be hurried on; that there muſt be time allowed to bring it to an accommodation; that it was the thing to which he applied himſelf to the beſt of his power; that Mr. Damville was on the road, bringing him news from the court; that it was ſurprizing that they ſhould preſs a declaration againſt a Prince of the blood, and that not the leaſt notice ſhould be taken of Cardinal Mazarin's preparations, for entering in arms into the kingdom.

I ſhould tire you to no manner of purpoſe if I enter'd into the detail of what paſſed in the aſſemblies of the chambers, which began, as I juſt now ſaid, upon the 20th of November; ſince thoſe of the 23d, of the 24th, and of the 28th of that month, and of the firſt and ſecond of December, were, properly ſpeaking, employed only in repeating continually the neceſſity of regiſtering the declaration, which the firſt preſident preſſed in the King's name; and in hearing the ſeveral reaſons which the Duke alledged to oblige the company to delay it. At one time he expected the return of a gentleman whom he had ſent to court to negotiate; at another he aſſured the company

that Mr. Damville was to come very ſoon from the court, with alterations that ſoftened it; at other times he raiſed difficulties about the form that ought to be obſerved, when the matter in queſtion was the condemning a Prince of the blood; at others he maintained that the thing neceſſarily previous to all, was to think of taking proper precautions againſt the return of the Cardinal; at others he preſented letters from the Prince, ſome directed to the King, and ſome to the parliament, whereby he demanded to clear himſelf. When he found that the parliament would not ſuffer theſe letters to be read, becauſe they came from a Prince who was in arms againſt his King, and that moſt of the company were inclining to have the declaration regiſtered, he gave the thing over, and he ſent Mr. de Croiſſi to the parliament upon the 4th, to deſire the company not to expect him when the regiſtering of the declaration was to be put to the vote, having reſolved not to be preſent on that occaſion. The matter was debated without him, and was carried by a majority of 120 votes, there having been in the debate three or four different opinions, but more in reſpect to form than to ſubſtance; and it was decreed to have the declaration read and regiſtered, that it might be executed according to its form and tenor.

What put the Duke into a conſternation, was that Croiſſi having deſired the company, after the debate was over, to name a day to deliberate about the return of Cardinal Mazarin, which was no longer queſtioned; he was hardly heard. The Duke ſpoke to me of it that evening, and told me that he was reſolved to ſtir up the people in order to awaken the parliament; to which I anſwered in theſe very words; 'The parliament, Sir, will awake, only to make 'ſpeeches againſt the Cardinal, and then will fall 'again into a lethargick ſleep. Beſides, I deſire your 'Royal Highneſs to conſider that the clock had ſtruck 'twelve when Mr. de Croiſſi ſpoke, and that every 'body wanted their dinner.' He took this laſt for a jeſt, though I ſpoke it very ſeriouſly; he ordered

Ornano,

Ornano, master of his wardrobe, to raise a kind of commotion by the means of Maillard, of whom I have had occasion to speak in the second volume of these Memoirs. That wretch, to cover his game the better, went with twenty or thirty of his gang to make a noise at the Duke's Palace, from whence they went to the first president, who ordered his gates to be opened to them, and speaking with his usual intrepidity, he threatened to send them to the gallows.

Upon the 7th the parliament in a full assembly of the chambers put out an arrest to prevent, for the future, these insolences. However the company thought fit to consider that it was necessary for them to take off the pretences which occasioned them, and they assembled upon the 9th to deliberate upon the current report of the sudden return of the Cardinal. The Duke having said in that assembly, that that return was but too certain, the first president tried to shift it off by proposing to call for the King's council, and to get the informations read, which, according to former arrests, ought to have been made against the Cardinal. Mr. Talon represented that the matter in question had nothing to do with these informations; that the Cardinal having been condemned by the King's declaration, there was no need of other proofs, and that if any informations were to be made, it could only be about the contraventions against that declaration. His conclusions were, to depute to his Majesty to inform him of the current report of the Cardinal's return, and to intreat him to confirm what he had promised to all his people upon this subject, by his royal word. He added, that all governors of provinces and of towns should be forbidden to give passage to the Cardinal, and that all other parliaments should be informed of this arrest, and exhorted to put out such a one. After these conclusions of the advocate-general, they went on to deliver their opinions; but having not time to go through it that day, and the Duke finding himself ill on the Sunday night, the assembly was put off to

Wednesday the 15th of December. The company upon that day agreed almost unanimously to put out an arrest conformable to the advocate-general's conclusions, which, besides what I have mentioned, imported, that the King should be intreated to acquaint the Pope and other foreign Princes with the reasons that had obliged him to remove the Cardinal from his person, and from his councils.

There was an interlude that day which will convince you that it was not without reason that I had foreseen how difficult it would be for me to act my part conformably to the conduct which we followed. Machaut and Fleury, two counsellors devoted altogether to the Prince, having said in their speeches, that the disorders of the state were occasioned only by persons who would by any means whatsoever carry the Cardinal's hat, I interrupted the first to tell him, that I was so used to see Cardinal's hats in my family, that it was not likely that I should be so much dazzled at its colour, as to be prompted by it to do all the hurt with which I was charged. As one ought not to interrupt any body whilst he is speaking, a great clamour arose against me in favour of Machaut. I begged of the company to excuse my warmth, which however, added I, does not proceed from want of respect.

One of the company having said in delivering his opinion, that they ought to proceed in respect of Cardinal Mazarin, as was formerly done in respect of the Cardinal de Châtillon, brother to the Admiral de Coligny, which was to set a price upon his head, I rose up, as did likewise all the other members that were clergymen, they being forbidden by the canons of the church to assist at any deliberations where the shedding of blood is mentioned.

Upon the 18th those of the inquests went by deputies to the grand chamber, to ask for an assembly of the chambers, on occasion of a letter which Cardinal Mazarin had written to Mr. d'Elbeuf, to ask his advice about his return into France. The first president owned

owned that he had that letter, which Mr. d'Elbeuf had ſent to him: that he had at the ſame time diſpatched an expreſs to the King to give him an account of it, and to let him know the conſequence; that he was expecting the return of his expreſs, intending afterwards to aſſemble the chambers, if the King's anſwer was not to his ſatisfaction. Thoſe of the inqueſts were not ſatisfied with this. They ſent again the next day, which was the 19th, their deputies to the grand chamber, and the firſt preſident was obliged to aſſemble the chambers upon the 20th, having firſt invited the Duke to be preſent. The firſt preſident having then acquainted the company that the occaſion of this aſſembly was the above-mentioned letter, and the coming of Mr. de Noailles to Mr. d'Elbeuf, the King's council were ſent for, who, by the mouth of Mr. Talon, gave their concluſions, which were, that conformably to the arreſt given upon ſuch a day the parliament ſhould, as ſoon as poſſible, ſend deputies to the King to inform his Majeſty of what paſſed upon the frontiers; that his Majeſty ſhould be intreated to write to the elector of Cologne that he ſhould order the Cardinal to withdraw from his dominions; that the Duke of Orleans ſhould be deſired to ſend to the King in his own name, to the ſame effect, and to ſend likewiſe to the Mareſchal d'Hocquincourt, and to the other generals, to give them notice of Cardinal Mazarin's deſign to return into France; that ſome of the company ſhould be named to go upon the frontiers, and make a verbal proceſs of what was doing there in relation to that return; that the mayors and the magiſtrates of places ſhould be forbidden to give the Cardinal paſſage, or a place of aſſembly to any troops that intended to favour him, or any retreat to any of his relations or ſervants; that Mr. de Noailles * ſhould be ſummoned to appear in perſon at the bar of this parliament, to give an

* I find Noailles in the French copy, but I believe it ſhould be Navailles.

account of the correſpondence which he entertained with him, and that monitory letters * ſhould be publiſhed, the better to diſcover what that correſpondence was. This is an abſtract of the concluſions conformably to which the arreſt was given.

You think, without doubt, the Cardinal cruſhed by this laſt arreſt of the parliament, conſidering that the King's council themſelves had furniſhed all the materials towards his ruin? But you miſtake, for at the ſame inſtant that that arreſt was agreed on, and that people's paſſions were at the higheſt, a counſellor having ſaid, that the troops which were aſſembled upon the frontiers for the ſervice of Mazarin would make a jeſt of their arreſt, if it was not ſignified to them by men armed with good muſkets and pikes; that counſellor, I ſay, whoſe name I do not remember, but who ſpoke, as you ſee, pretty much to the purpoſe, was repulſed with a general outcry, as if he had ſaid the moſt fooliſh thing in the world, the whole company crying out aloud that the King alone had a right to withdraw or to diſband his own forces.

But I deſire you to reconcile, if you can, that tender regard for the King's authority, with an arreſt that forbid at the ſame time all towns to give paſſage to one whom that authority would reſtore. What is moſt wonderful is, that a thing that appears a prodigy to future ages, is not felt at the moment, and that thoſe whom I have heard reaſon ſince upon this ſubject in the ſame manner I do, would have ſworn at that time that there was nothing contradictory, between the arreſt and the reſtriction. What I have ſeen during our troubles has explained to me in more than one occaſion, what I could not before comprehend in hiſtory. You find there ſome facts ſo oppoſite to one another that they become incredible; but experience teaches us that all that appears incredible is not falſe.

* Letters from the ſpiritual judge to be read in all pariſh churches, admoniſhing thoſe who are informed of the truth of any fact in queſtion, to declare it on oath, under pain of excommunication.

You

You will ſtill find this truth better ſupported by what paſſed after this in the parliament, which I intend to come to, after I have mentioned ſome circumſtances that relate to the court.

There was ſome conteſt there in the cabinet council about the manner in which the Queen was to act in reſpect to the parliament; ſome ſaid that ſhe ought to manage that company carefully, and others that it would be beſt to abandon them to themſelves; theſe were the words which Brachet uſed, ſpeaking to the Queen. They had been inſpired and dictated to him by Menardeau Champré, a counſellor of the grand chamber, and a man of good ſenſe. He had charged Brachet to tell the Queen from him, that the beſt way that ſhe could take was to let every thing at Paris run into confuſion, it being always a means to reſtore the royal authority, when once that confuſion is arrived to a certain pitch: that to that effect ſhe ought to order the firſt preſident to come to court, and execute there his office of lord-keeper; to do the like to Mr. de la Vieuville, and to all thoſe that were under him, in his poſt of the finances; and to cauſe likewiſe the grand council, &c. to come to the court. This advice, which was grounded upon the diſappointments which an action of this nature would produce, in a city where it cannot be diſowned but that all the ſeveral eſtabliſhments are linked in a very ſtrict manner together, was oppoſed with a great deal of force by all thoſe who were afraid that the Cardinal's enemies would make uſe againſt him of the weakneſs of the preſident le Bailleul, who by the firſt preſident's abſence would be left at the head of the parliament, and of the animoſity of the people which ſuch an action would ſerve only to increaſe. The Cardinal was a long while in ſuſpence about the reaſons that ſupported theſe two opinions; though the Queen, who by her inclination was always led to think the moſt violent the beſt, had already declared for the firſt. What determined him, as I have learnt ſince of the Mareſchal de la Ferté, was what Mr. de

Senneterre wrote to him in very ſtrong terms, in favour of the firſt opinion, and his frightening him with the firſt preſident's manner of ſpeaking in the parliament, which was often very bold, and did ſometimes, added Senneterre, more harm than his good intentions could do good: but that was ſaying too much by far. The firſt preſident at laſt left Paris by the King's order, even without taking his leave of the parliament, which he did by the advice of Mr. de Champlatreux, pretty much againſt his inclination. Mr. de Champlatreux was in the right, becauſe he might certainly have run ſome riſk in the commotion which ſuch a ſtep might have occaſioned. I went to take my leave of him the day before he left Paris, and he ſaid theſe very words to me: 'I am going to 'court, and ſhall there ſpeak the truth; after which 'the King muſt be obeyed.' I am perſuaded that he really was as good as his word. I return to the parliament.

Upon the 29th of December the King's council came to the grand chamber, and preſented to the company a Lettre-de-cachet from the King, which injoined them to delay the ſending the deputies who had been named in the arreſt of the 13th to go to his Majeſty, becauſe he had more than ſufficiently explained his intentions to them formerly. Mr. Talon added, that he was obliged by the duty of his place to repreſent to them the commotion which ſuch a deputation might cauſe in a time ſo full of troubles. 'You ſee, continued he, the whole kingdom in mo-'tion, and we have here a letter from the parliament 'of Roûen, which informs us that they have put out 'an arreſt againſt Cardinal Mazarin, in conformity 'to yours of the 13th.'

The Duke of Orleans ſpoke next. He ſaid that Cardinal Mazarin was arrived at Sedan on the 25th, that the Mareſchals d'Hocquincourt and de la Ferté were going to join him with an army, in order to bring him to court; and that it was time to oppoſe his deſigns, of which there was no longer any room

to

to doubt. I cannot expreſs to what degree people's minds were moved. They would hardly ſtay till the King's council had taken their concluſions, which were to ſend inceſſantly their deputies to the King, and to declare from this moment Cardinal Mazarin and his adherents guilty of high-treaſon; to enjoin the commons to fall upon them; to forbid the mayors and magiſtrates of towns to give them paſſage; to ſell his library and all his houſhold goods. The arreſt added to theſe concluſions, that the ſum of 150,000 livres ſhould be taken preferably, out of the ſale, to be given to the man who ſhould bring the Cardinal, dead or alive. At the mentioning of this all the eccleſiaſticks roſe up, for the reaſon I have already mentioned.

No doubt but you think affairs very much exaſperated, and you will ſtill be the more perſuaded of it, when I have told you that upon the ſecond of January of the year 1652, a ſecond arreſt came out upon the concluſions of the King's council, and upon advice that the Cardinal had already paſſed Epernay, by which it was farther ordered, that all the other parliaments ſhould be deſired to give a like arreſt to that of Paris of the 29th of December; that two more deputies ſhould be ſent with the four already named, to the paſſages, with an order to arm the commons; that the Duke of Orleans' forces ſhould be commanded to oppoſe the march of the Cardinal, and that orders ſhould be ſent for their ſubſiſtance. Is it not true that after theſe concluſions and this arreſt, it was likely that the parliament was for a war? Nothing like it. A counſellor having ſaid that the firſt ſtep for the ſubſiſting the troops, was the having of money, which he propoſed to take out of that part of the eſcheats that related to the annual duty, he was repulſed with indignation and outcries; and the ſame company that had juſt before ordered the march of the Duke of Orleans' troops, in order to oppoſe thoſe of the King's, treated the propoſals of touching the King's money with the ſame ſcruple of conſcience,

as they would have done in a time of the greateſt tranquillity. I ſaid to the Duke, at our coming away, that he might ſee that I had not deceived him when I had aſſured him ſo often, that a civil war could be but ill managed with the concluſions of the King's council. He had another opportunity of being convinced of it the next day; for the parliament being aſſembled, and the marquis de Sablonnieres, colonel of the regiment of Vallois, coming in to him and telling him that du Coudray-Giviers, one of thoſe named to arm the commons, had been killed, and that Beſaud, who was the other, had been taken priſoner by the enemies, the commotion was ſuch in the company, that it could not have been greater or more general, if the fact had been ſome horrible and deteſtable murder, committed with premeditated malice, in a time of perfect tranquillity. I remember that Bachaumont, who ſat that day behind me, whiſpered me theſe words in the ear by way of raillery againſt his brother counſellors: 'I am going to gain 'a mighty reputation, for my opinion ſhall be to have 'Mr. d'Hocquincourt hanged and quartered for hav-'ing been ſo inſolent as to fall upon perſons that are 'arming the commons againſt him.' The paſſion which the company ſhewed at this prevarication of Mr. d'Hocquincourt's, againſt which they made a decree in form, was in my opinion the cauſe of their not refuſing audience to a gentleman ſent by the Prince of Condé, with a letter and a petition to them; for I can find no other reaſon for it, after having regiſtered the King's declaration againſt the Prince; when this ſame parliament had refuſed to receive a letter and a remonſtrance, ſent to them from that Prince upon the ſecond of December, which was a time when there were as yet no formal proceedings begun in the parliament againſt him. Upon the 11th in the evening, being with Mr. Talon, I made him obſerve this circumſtance; and he, who had himſelf in his concluſions been for the receiving the letter, made me this anſwer: 'We no longer know

'what

'what we are a doing; we are out of the beaten 'road.' That gentleman however insisted in his conclusions, that they ought not to touch the King's money, which he affirmed to be sacred, whatever should happen. Judge, I beseech you, how that could agree with the conclusions taken by him two or three days before, whereby he was for arming the commons and for ordering the Duke's troops to march and oppose those of the King. I have wondered a thousand times at the want of sense of those wretched gazetteers that have written the history of those times. I have not met with any one that has so much as made the least reflection upon those contradictions, which are however the things that best deserve to be mentioned and observed. I was at a loss even at that time in what I observed in Mr. Talon's conduct, that gentleman being certainly one of a resolute mind and of a solid judgment, which made me sometimes believe that what he did was affected. But I remember that I lost that opinion, after I had well considered of it; and that I had sufficient reasons (the particulars of which are now out of my memory) to be persuaded that he was, like the rest, carried away by the stream, which in these sort of times ebbs and flows with a violence that agitates men in such an opposite manner.

This is exactly what happened to Mr. Talon, in the deliberation of which I am now speaking; for after his having concluded to give entrance to the Prince's gentleman, and to have the Prince's letter and petition read, he added, that both ought to be sent to the King, and that the company ought not to deliberate upon it till they had an answer from his majesty. The Prince's letter to the parliament was only an offer he made to the company of his person and of his forces, against the common enemy; and his petition tended towards having the execution of the declaration against him, which had been registred, put off till the declarations and arrests given against the Cardinal had had their full and entire effect.

They could not put an end to the deliberation that day, though they had been upon it till three in the afternoon. It was made an end of the next day, and an arreſt was given, whereby it was ordered that Mr. d'Hocquincourt ſhould be required to ſet Meſſieurs Betaud and Giviers at liberty, this laſt not being killed as it had been reported, but having only been made a priſoner with the other; and that in caſe of a refuſal Mr. d'Hocquincourt and all his poſterity ſhould be made anſwerable for what might happen to them; that the declaration and arreſts given againſt the Cardinal ſhould be executed; that all his Majeſty's ſubjects ſhould be forbidden to acknowledge the Mareſchal d'Hocquincourt and others that aſſiſted the Cardinal as commanders of the King's forces; and that a ſtop ſhould be put to the execution of the declaration and arreſts given againſt the Prince of Condé, till the declaration and arreſts againſt the Cardinal ſhould be entirely executed.

What paſſed at the parliament on the 16th and 19th of January is of no moment. Mr. de Nemours arrived at Paris on the 19th in the evening, coming from Bourdeaux, and deſigning to go into Flanders, to bring from thence ſome forces which the Spaniards had promiſed the Prince. It is neceſſary to take up a little higher the particulars relating to this journey of Mr. de Nemours, which occaſioned much jealouſy to the Duke of Orleans.

I believe that I have already told you, that the Duke was five or ſix times in a day cruelly embarraſſed, being perſuaded that every thing went at random, and that it was even impoſſible to remedy it. There were inſtants in which he was inſpired with that ſort of courage that proceeds from deſpair, and it was in theſe inſtants that he uſed to ſay, that the worſt that could happen to him would be to live in quiet at Blois. But the Dutcheſs, who did not like that kind of quiet for him, often troubled the agreeable ideas which he was forming to himſelf of it, and conſequently often gave him apprehenſions of the inconveniencies, which he

he naturally feared already but too much. The ſtate in which affairs were, did not help to hearten him, for beſides his fancying himſelf always upon the borders of precipices, the ſteps which he really was obliged to take and follow, were of a nature that might cauſe the moſt ſtout and reſolute to ſtumble. The tranſactions that paſſed upon Maundy-Thurſday, could not get out of his mind; and as he feared beſides extremely to be under the dependance of the Prince, which he looked upon as infallible if he ſhould unite entirely with him, he lived in ſuch a conſtraint that he was forced ten times a day to change his moſt natural ſteps, and at the time that he was in hopes that the Cardinal's return might be ſtill traverſed by ſome other means than a civil war, he had uſed himſelf ſo much to preſerve the regards proper to ſuch a diſpoſition, that when he was obliged to change his meaſures, his conduct became irregular, and altogether like that of the parliament.

You have already ſeen more than once that the company, in the ſame ſitting, ordered the marching of forces, and would not allow thoſe forces the means to ſubſiſt; that they armed the people againſt forces, who had their commiſſions and orders in due form from the King, and oppoſed at the ſame time with a mighty noiſe, thoſe that propoſed the diſbanding of theſe forces; that they enjoined the commons to fall upon the Generals of the King's army that aſſiſted Mazarin, and forbad at the ſame inſtant, upon pain of death, to make any levies without an expreſs commiſſion from his Majeſty. The Duke, who imagined that by remaining united to the parliament he ſhould oppoſe Mazarin independently of the Prince, gave way, by this union, ſtill more eaſily to his natural inclination, in which he was already but too much helped by his irreſolution. That inclination led him, as I have already ſaid, to keep the balance even on both ſides, whenever he found any room to do it. This medium, to which he was before inclined, became neceſſary by his union with a company whoſe ſteps were

were always grounded upon the maxim of reconciling the royal ordinances with a civil war. This ridicule is in some manner hid in respect to the parliament, by reason of the majesty of that great body, which is looked upon by most people as infallible. But it always discovers itself very soon in private persons, of what rank soever, let them even be Princes of the Blood, or Sons of France. It is what I was saying every day to the Duke, who agreed to it, but had always the same answer in readiness, which was: 'What 'better steps can be taken?' I believe that he repeated that saying above fifty times in a conversation which I had with him the day that Mr. de Nemours arrived at Paris. The Duke expressing a great deal of trouble about the forces which he was going to fetch out of Flanders, for fear they should make the Prince of Condé too strong, and adding, that that Prince afterwards would make use of them to serve his own turn, I told him, that I was excessively sorry to see him in a state, wherein nothing could bring him comfort, and every thing was able to, and must, afflict him. 'If 'the Prince is beaten,' added I, 'what will you do 'with the parliament, considering that that company 'would not move one step without the conclusions of 'the King's council, even in case that the Cardinal 'was with an army at the door of the grand chamber? 'What will you do if the Prince is victorious, when 'you stand already in fear of 4000 men that are 'fetching to join him?'

Though I should have been very sorry, both by reason of the engagement I was in with the Queen upon that subject, and likewise upon account of my private interest, that the Duke should have united intimately with the Prince, which he could not do, besides, without submitting shamefully to him, considering the inequality of their two genius's, I should have been glad however that his weakness should not have filled him with that envy and fear which he shewed on his account, because it seemed to me that mediums might have been found to make the Prince serviceable

to

to his ends, without giving him all the advantages which he was afraid of. I own that those mediums had in them a great deal of difficulty, and consequently that it was impossible for the Duke to make use of them, considering that he never made any difference between things difficult, and things impossible. It is incredible to think what pains I took to persuade him that prudence required of him to do his best to prevent the parliament from declaring against these auxiliary troops that were to come to the Prince. I represented to him with vigour, all the reasons that obliged him not to deprive the Prince of that assistance, in the present posture of affairs, and not to accustom the company to condemn the steps that were taking against Mazarin. I agreed with him that it was necessary to blame in publick the union with the Spaniards, that there might appear no alteration in his conduct; but I maintained that he ought at the same time to elude the deliberations which the company would make upon that subject; and I proposed to him the means to do it, which by the diversions that would naturally offer of themselves, and by the weakness of the President le Bailleul, could hardly have been perceived. The Duke remained for a long time resolved to let the thing take its course, because, added he, the Prince is already but too strong: and after I had convinced him with my reasons, he did all that weak men never fail to do in like occasions. They turn so short when they change their opinion, that they cease to measure their steps, and run instead of walking. The Duke accordingly, whatever I could say to the contrary, resolved suddenly upon justifying the march of these foreign troops, and upon justifying it in the parliament by illusory arguments that deceive nobody, but serve only to shew the intention one has to deceive. This sort of fallacy has been in use at all times, but it must be owned that in the time of Cardinal Mazarin it has been studied and practised, more frequently and more insolently than in any other. It has not only been daily made use of in common affairs, but it has

triumphed in publick edicts, arrests, and declarations; and I am persuaded that this publick outrage done to probity has been, as I believe I have already said in the first part of these Memoirs, the chiefest cause of our revolutions. The Duke told me at the parliament, that these forces ought not to be reckoned as Spanish, because they were made up of Germans. You must observe that they had been for three or four years in the service of Spain in Flanders, under the command of a Prince of the house of Wirtemberg, who was paid by his Catholick Majesty, and that many persons of quality of the Low Countries were even officers under him. I represented in vain to the Duke, that what we were daily blaming the most in the Cardinal's conduct, was this manner of speaking and of acting so opposite to the most known truths. He laughed at my scruple, and answered me, that I might have observed that the world desires to be deceived. This saying is true, and was verified on this occasion.

I beg leave of you to stop here for a moment, to make this observation; that one ought not to wonder if historians, who treat of matters with which they have had nothing to do, mistake so often, when it is impossible for men who have been nearest to the facts, not to mistake likewise, in an infinity of occasions, mere appearances, sometimes false in every circumstance, for the real truth. There was not a man, not only in the parliament, but even in the Duke's palace, who did not believe at that time that my only business with the Duke was to break the measures which the Prince kept with him. I should certainly have done my best to break these measures, if I had so much as perceived the least disposition in the Duke to enter into any with the Prince, that had been solid and essential. But I can assure you, that he was so backward, even to those, which the present state of affairs, and common prudence obliged him to hearken to, that I was forced to labour hard in order to persuade him to preserve these last measures with some sort of decency, at the same time that all the world imagined that I was doing

doing quite the contrary. I was not ſorry however for the report ſpread about it by the Prince's partiſans, though theſe reports coſt me now and then ſome rebukes which I received in delivering my opinion in the aſſembly of the chambers. I undertook at firſt to turn theſe rebukes to my advantage, in keeping the Queen in good humour with me. But ſhe was not long amuſed by it; and having been informed, that though I kept ſtrictly to the word I had given her, not to come to any accommodation with the Prince, I adviſed the Duke however not to break with him, ſhe cauſed Brachet, who came to Paris at that time, to reproach me with it: I got him to write a memorial which I dictated to him, that made it clearly appear that I had not been wanting in any one thing of what I promiſed her; which was true, becauſe I promiſed her nothing that was contrary to what I had adviſed the Duke. Brachet told me at his coming back, that the Queen was convinced of it, after having examined my reaſons at his perſuaſion; but that Mr. de Chateauneuf had exclaimed at them, and ſpoke theſe very words to the Queen: 'I am not, Madam, no more 'than the coadjutor, for recalling the Cardinal; but 'it is ſo criminal in a ſubject to indite a memorial like 'this, which I have ſeen, that were I his judge, I 'would upon this ſingle point immediately condemn 'him.' The Queen was ſo kind as to command Brachet to relate theſe particulars to me, and to tell me that the Cardinal would be more true to me than that wretch, though I gave him no occaſion: theſe were her words. I return to the parliament.

What paſſed there from the 12th to the 24th of January 1652, is not worthy of your attention, nothing elſe almoſt having been ſpoken of but the affair of Meſſieurs Betaud and Giviers, which was treated all the while as if it had been an aſſaſſination committed in cold blood next to the parliament-hall.

Upon the 24th the Preſident de Bellievre, and the other deputies who had been at Poitiers, reported the remonſtrances which they had made to the King, with all

all the force and vehemence imaginable, in the name of the company, againſt the return of the Cardinal. They ſaid that his Majeſty, after adviſing with the Queen and his Council, had cauſed the Lord Keeper to anſwer to them in his preſence, that when the Parliament had given their laſt arreſts, they were not apprized, without doubt, that Cardinal Mazarin had not made any levies of forces but by the expreſs command of his Majeſty; that he had the King's orders to enter into France, and to bring theſe forces along with him; that the King therefore took not ill what the company had hitherto done; but that he made likewiſe no doubt that when they had learnt theſe particulars, and were further informed that Cardinal Mazarin required only the means of clearing himſelf, they would give an example to all his ſubjects of the obedience which they owed him. I leave you to judge of the commotion which an anſwer ſo little conformable to the ſolemn promiſes which the Queen had repeated above ten times, muſt cauſe in the parliament. The Duke of Orleans did not appeaſe it, by ſaying that the King had ſent Ruvigny to ſpeak to him in the like manner, and to order him to ſend to their garriſons the regiments that went under his name. The heat was ſtill increaſed by the arreſts of the parliaments of Toulouze and of Rouen, which were affectedly read at that inſtant, as well as a letter of the parliament of Brittany, whereby that company deſired an union with that of Paris, againſt the violences of the Mareſchal de la Meilleraie. Mr. Talon ſpoke againſt the Cardinal with a vehemence that had ſomething of rage in it. He thundered againſt the Mareſchal de la Meilleraie, in behalf of the parliament of Rennes; but his concluſions went no further than to remonſtrances againſt the return of the firſt, and to informations againſt the diſorders committed by the Mareſchal d'Hocquincourt's forces. The heat evaporated in words, the clock ſtruck twelve, and the deliberation was put off to the next day. It produced an arreſt conformable to Mr. Talon's concluſions, with this,

this addition only, made chiefly in view of the Mareſchal de la Meilleraie, that they ſhould not proceed in the parliament to the reception of any Dukes and Peers, nor of Mareſchals of France, till the Cardinal was out of the kingdom.

An accident happened by mere chance in this ſitting, which was looked upon as a mighty myſtery. The Mareſchal d'Eſtampes in delivering his opinion, having ſaid without any deſign, that the parliament ought to unite with the Duke for the expelling the common enemy, ſome councellors ſupported this opinion, without meaning any hurt, and others were againſt it, moved to it merely by that ſpirit which, as I have ſomewhere told you, is oppoſed to all that is, or appears concerted in theſe ſort of companies. The Preſident de Novion, who was entirely reconciled with the court, took hold very artfully of this conjuncture to ſerve the Queen; and judging very rightly that the perſon of the Mareſchal d'Eſtampes, who was of the Duke's family, gave him room to inſinuate that there was a deſign, in what had been certainly ſpoken without any premeditation, he exclaimed with the Preſident de Meſmes, againſt the word Union, as againſt the thing in the world the moſt criminal. He enlarged in an eloquent manner upon the injury done to the parliament, in thinking that company capable of an union which would infallibly cauſe a civil war. The minds and hearts of moſt perſons became of a ſudden paſſionate for the royal authority. Clamorous ſpeeches were made againſt the propoſal of the poor Mareſchal d'Eſtampes, which was rejected with horror, as if the like had not been propoſed perhaps above fifty times by thirty counſellors within ſix weeks; as if the parliament had not returned thanks to the Duke in all their ſittings, for the obſtacles he put to the Cardinal's return; and, in ſhort, as if the King's council themſelves in their concluſions had not been in two or three different manners, for praying the Duke to cauſe his troops to march for that effect. This is a confirmation

of

of what I have already told you, that nothing is more like the people than theſe companies.

The Duke of Orleans, who was preſent at that ſcene, was ſtruck down with it, and it was that that determined him to join his forces to thoſe of the Prince. He had for a long time kept him in hopes that he would do it, both becauſe he had not the courage to refuſe them to the Prince, and becauſe Mr. de Beaufort, who was perſonally intereſted in the thing, being to command theſe forces, preſſed him to the laſt degree about it. But the Duke confeſſed to me that evening, that it was with a great deal of difficulty that he reſolved upon it, but that finding nothing good to be hoped for from the parliament, which was like to undo itſelf and to undo all thoſe that were joined to it; it was not fit to ſuffer the Prince of Condé to be ruined; and he was very near propoſing to me that I ſhould come to an accommodation with him. He was however prevented from coming ſo far, either by reflecting on my engagements, that were not unknown to him; or becauſe his fear of falling into the Prince's dependency (and this was what appeared to me) worked ſtronger ſtill upon him, than that which this diſappointment of the parliament had put him into. You will ſee the ſequel of this, after I have given you an account of what was paſſing at Court at that time.

I have, I believe, already told you that Mr. de Chateauneuf had at laſt taken the reſolution to ſpeak plainly his mind to the Queen, and to declare againſt Cardinal Mazarin's return. This he did, in my opinion, without any hopes of ſucceſs, and with the only view of gaining by it a merit with the publick for his retreat, which he looked upon as unavoidable, being very willing to make at leaſt the people believe that it was the conſequence and the effect of the liberty with which he had oppoſed Mazarin's return. He aſked leave to retire, which was granted him.

Cardinal Mazarin arrived at Court, and I leave you to judge in what manner he was received there. He found

found there Mr. le Tellier, who had been already recalled by Meſſieurs de Chateauneuf and de Villeroi, for a certain reaſon which was made a myſtery of at that time, and the particulars of which I cannot remember. The Cardinal determined the King to go towards Saumur, though a great many adviſed him to march into Guienne, to make an end of puſhing the Prince. He thought it beſt to begin with Mr. de Rohan *, who being Governor of Angers, had, with the town and caſtle, declared for the Prince. Angers being beſieged by the Mareſchals de la Meilleraie and d'Hocquincourt, held out but a very little time, and coſt but few men. The Pont Sé, wherein Beauveau commanded for the Prince, ſurrendered immediately, and almoſt without any reſiſtance, to Meſſieurs de Noailles and de Broglio. The King left Saumur, and went to Tours, where the Archbiſhop of Rouen † laid the firſt foundation of the favour he was afterwards in, by complaining to the King, in the name of the Biſhops that were at court, of the arreſts given in the parliament againſt Cardinal Mazarin. Their Majeſties came afterwards to Blois, where Mr. Servien joined them. The Mareſchal d'Hocquincourt came near that town with his army, which committed incredible diſorders for want of pay. We ſhall ſee what progreſs this army made, after I have given you an account of what was paſſing at Paris.

I am perſuaded that I ſhould tire you if I ſhould enter into the detail of what was tranſacted in the Aſſemblies of the Chambers, from the 25th of January to the 15th of February. There was but one ſitting, or two at moſt, that were employed wholly in giving out arreſts for the reſtoring the funds that were appointed for the payment of the town-houſe rents, which the Court, according to its laudable cuſtom, withdrew one

* Henry Chabot de St. Aulaie, Duke de Rohan, Peer of France, and Governor of Anjou, who was much blamed by both parties for his behaviour at Angers.

† Francis Harlai de Chanvallon, Archbiſhop of Rouen, and afterwards of Paris.

day

day to put things into confusion in Paris, and restored the next, for fear that that confusion should become too great. The most considerable thing that passed in the parliament at that time, was an arrest given by the Grand Chamber, upon the 8th of February, at the request of the Attorney-General, whereby any person without exception was forbidden to levy any forces without the King's commission. I leave you to judge how well this could agree with seven or eight of their arrests which I have mentioned before.

Upon the 15th of February the parliament and the city received two Lettres de Cachet, wherein the King acquainted them with Mr. de Rohan's rebellion, and with the march of the Spanish forces led by Mr. de Nemours, of which the letters shewed the inconveniencies, exhorting them to be loyal to the King. After the letters were read, the Duke spoke and represented that Mr. de Rohan had made himself master of the town and castle of Angers, only to execute the arrests of the company that ordered all governors of places to oppose the enterprizes of the Cardinal; that Boisleur, Lieutenant-Governor of Angers, and a zealous partisan of Mazarin's, had formed a design upon that place, which Mr. de Rohan had been obliged to prevent, and even to secure that gentleman; that he could not conceive how the things that were transacting daily in the parliament could be reconciled; that they had given in a full assembly of the Chambers seven or eight arrests one upon another, which enjoined governors of provinces and of towns to declare against the Cardinal; and that but two days ago the Chamber of Tournelle, at the request of the Bishop of Angers, brother to Boisleur, had put out an arrest against the Duke of Rohan, whose only guilt was the executing those given in a full assembly of the Chambers; that the Grand Chamber had but few days ago put out one to forbid the levying forces without the King's commission, than which nothing could be more contrary to the request made to him several times by the whole body of the parliament, praying him to employ

employ all his forces for the expelling of the Cardinal; that he thought himself likewise obliged to inform the company that all the arrests which they had put out, had not yet been sent, neither to the several precincts, nor to the other parliaments, as it had been ordered. The Duke added, that Mr. d'Amville was come to him from the King, and had brought him Carte-blanche to oblige him to give his consent to the re-establishment of the Cardinal; but that nothing in the world could ever bring him to it, or to disunite in opinion from the parliament, &c.

The Presidents de Bailleul and de Novion maintained stoutly, that the arrests of the Grand Chamber, and of the Chamber of Tournelle, of which the Duke complained, were legal, the number of judges that are required for putting out arrests in these Chambers being compleat. This reason, as impertinent as it will appear to you, considering the subject, satisfied most of the old councellors, drowned in, or rather swallowed up by their forms of law. The young councellors, inflamed by the Duke, rose up and forced the President le Bailleul to put the thing to the vote. Mr. Talon, the Advocate-general, avoided very artfully to give his conclusions upon the two arrests of the Grand Chamber and of the Tournelle, by turning his discourse, to the great satisfaction of the company, against the Bishop of Avranches, a man odious both for his infamous life, and for his slavish attachment to the Cardinal. This gave him an opportunity of making himself merry at the non-residence of Bishops, against which he really obtained a cutting arrest; and his conclusions were, that all Mayors and Magistrates, as well as Governors of towns, should be forbid to give passage to the Spanish forces, led by Mr. de Nemours.

It was at that instant that the Duke executed what he had projected before, as I have already told you, and that he went even beyond what he had at first resolved. He maintained that he had taken these forces into his pay, and that they were not Spaniards. His speech, which he extended to a pretty great length, took up some time;

time; the clock ſtruck twelve, and the aſſembly was put off to the next day, which was the 16th. But there was no aſſembly on that day, the Duke having ſent in the morning to excuſe himſelf upon pretence of a fit of the cholick. The true reaſon for this delay was this.

The laſt diſappointment of the parliament had embarraſſed the Duke beyond what I am able to expreſs; and I believe that in leſs than two days time, I had heard him repeat a hundred times the following words: 'It is a cruel thing to find one's ſelf in a 'condition where it is impoſſible for one to act right. 'I had never conſidered of it before; but I experi-'ence it and feel it.' His agitation, which, like a fever, had fits, ſome leſs, ſome more violent, was never greater than on the day that he commanded Mr. de Beaufort, or rather gave him leave, to put his troops upon action. And as I was repreſenting to him that after the many declarations which he had made both in the parliament and every where elſe againſt Mazarin, it appeared to me that the ſtep of cauſing his troops to move againſt him was not ſo great an addition to the diſlike which he had already given to the Court, that he needed to apprehend it ſo much: he anſwered me theſe memorable words, on which I have reflected a thouſand and a thouſand times: 'If you was born a ſon of France, an infant 'of Spain, a King of Hungary, or a Prince of Wales, 'you would not ſpeak as you do. Know that we 'Princes reckon words for nothing, but that we never 'forget actions. The Queen would not remember 'to-morrow at noon my declaiming againſt the Cardi-'nal, if I would bear with him to-morrow morning. 'If my forces fire a ſingle muſket, ſhe will not for-'give it me theſe 2000 years, let me act never ſo well 'to pleaſe her.' The general concluſion which I drew from this diſcourſe, was that the Duke was perſuaded that all Princes had the like ſentiments upon certain matters; and the particular one was, that the Duke was not ſo much exaſperated at the Cardinal, as

to reject all thoughts of being reconciled to him, in case of need. And yet a quarter of an hour after the pronouncing these sententious words, he appeared to me further than ever from it. For Mr. Damville coming into his library-room, where I was alone with him, and having pressed him very much in the Queen's name, and by her order, to give him his word not to join his forces with those of Mr. de Nemours that were advancing, the Duke remained inflexible in his resolution, and spoke even upon that subject with a great deal of good sense, and with all the sentiments that a son of France, who finds himself forced by the circumstances of affairs, to an action of that nature may, and ought to preserve, at that unfortunate time. You have here an abstract of what he said. 'That he was not ignorant that the part 'which he acted on this occasion was the most uneasy 'in the world, considering that he could gain no-'thing by it, and that it took away from him before-'hand all manner of quiet and satisfaction: that he 'was well enough known to give no room to sus-'pect that what he did was the effect of ambition: 'Neither could it be attributed to hatred, to which 'passion he was known never to have been inclined 'against any one: that he was forced into it by the 'mere necessity in which he had found himself, not 'to suffer the state to perish in the hands of a mini-'ster unable to govern, and abhorred by all the world: 'that he had indeed supported him during the siege of 'Paris, but that he did it against his conscience, and 'in regard only to the Queen; that he had likewise 'sided with him, though with the same scruple of 'conscience, and out of the same regard, during the 'whole course of the civil war in Guienne: That his 'lamentable conduct there for a while, and the use 'which he would afterwards have made of the advan-'tages, obtained by his (the duke's) means, against 'the Duke himself, had forced him to think of his 'own safety, and that he confessed, though to his 'shame, that God had made use of that motive to

'oblige him to follow the way which his duty had 'been for ſo long pointing out to him: that he had 'not followed that way in a factious manner, by can-'toning himſelf upon the frontiers, and calling there 'upon foreign aid: that he had joined only with the 'parliaments, which are beyond compariſon more 'intereſted than any one in the preſervation of the 'ſtate: that God had bleſſed his good intentions, 'chiefly in permitting the expulſion of that bad 'miniſter without the ſhedding of blood, or any other 'harm done: that the king had granted to the tears 'of his people that piece of juſtice, more neceſſary 'ſtill for his ſervice than for the ſatisfaction of his 'ſubjects; that all the corporate bodies of the king-'dom, without excepting one, had expreſſed their 'joy by arreſts, by thankſgivings, by bonfires, and 'other public rejoicings: that when we were upon 'the point of ſeeing union reſtored in the royal 'family, which would have repaired in a trice the 'advantages obtained over us, occaſioned by our 'diviſions, the evil genius of France had again 'brought this wicked miniſter upon the ſtage, to 'renew the confuſion every where: that this was 'the moſt dangerous ſort of confuſion which we had 'as yet fallen into, becauſe thoſe who had the beſt 'intentions in the world, and the moſt remote from 'any private intereſt, were thoſe that could the leaſt 'remedy it: that in moſt other diſorders which had 'hitherto befallen the ſtate, people might have ex-'pected an end of them by ſatisfying at laſt the deſire 'of thoſe whoſe ambition had occaſioned them, ſo 'that what had been for the moſt part the cauſe of 'the evil, had however proved moſt commonly a 'remedy to it: that our preſent ſymptom was of 'another nature; that we were fallen into it by a 'general commotion of the whole political body, 'which made it impracticable for any of the mem-'bers to help their own private caſe, there being no 'other remedy left than the expelling the venom 'which had infected the whole body: that the par-

'liaments

'liaments were so far engaged in it, that supposing 'that he, jointly with the Prince, should be willing 'to desist, they could not persuade the like to these 'companies: but that they were so far from desisting, 'and so much obliged for their own safety to pur-'sue the expulsion, that they would both declare 'against the parliaments, if these bodies should hap-'pen to change.' 'Would you advise me, Brion,' said the Duke of Orleans (for so he used to call the Duke d'Amville, who bore that name when he was the Duke of Orleans's first gentleman of the horse) 'would you advise me, after what has passed, to 'trust to Mazarin's word? Would you advise the 'Prince to do it? But supposing we could trust him, 'do you believe that the Queen ought to hesitate to 'give us the satisfaction which all France, or rather 'all Europe, are asking her jointly with us? No 'body has a greater feeling than I of the deplorable 'condition which I see the kingdom in, and I can-'not without trembling see the Spanish colours dis-'played, when I consider that they are upon the 'point of joining those of Condé, and those of 'Vallois. But is not the present case, in respect to 'me, one of those that has given rise, with a great 'deal of reason, to the saying, That necessity has no 'law? And can I dispense with following a way by 'which only I can defend myself and all my friends 'against the Queen's wrath, and against the ven-'geance of her minister? He has the royal authority 'wholly in his hands, he is master of all the towns, 'he hath all the veteran troops at his disposal, he 'shoves the prince to the furthest part of the king-'dom, he threatens the parliament of the capital 'city of the realm, he sues himself for the protection 'of Spain, and we know every particular of what he 'has promised as he came through the country of 'Liege, to Don Antonio Pimentel. What can I do 'in this conjuncture, or rather what is it I ought not 'to do, except I bring dishonour upon myself, and 'am willing to pass for the last, I do not say of

'Princes, but of men? When I have suffered the 'Prince to be crushed, when I have left the Cardinal 'at liberty to subdue Guienne, when I see him at the 'gates of Paris with a victorious army; will people 'say the Duke of Orleans is to be commended for 'having sacrificed his person, the parliament, and the 'city, to the revenge of Mazarin, rather than use the 'assistance of the enemies of the crown? Will they 'not rather say the Duke of Orleans is a coward and 'a fool to entertain scruples, which even a Capuchin 'would reject if he was as far engaged as the Duke 'of Orleans is?'

This is what his Royal Highness said to Mr. Damville, with that torrent of eloquence which was natural to him whenever he spoke without any preparation. I have forgot to tell you that this Don Antonio Pimentel was sent to the Cardinal by Fuensaldagne, under pretence of convoying him, and that the cardinal gave him mighty hopes of an advantageous peace for his catholic Majesty. Don Antonio has since told me that the Cardinal had spoke these very words to him: 'Grabugio so per voi: I am making this bustle for 'your sake. I require for payment that you would 'do for the Prince but half of what you are able to 'do; or that you would tell me at this instant what 'your demands for a peace are. France treats me in 'a manner which gives me leave to serve you without 'any scruple.'

The Duke, in all likelihood, had gone further in his discourse, if he had not been told, that the president de Bellievre was in the bedchamber waiting for him. He left me in his library-room with Mr. Damville, who took me to task in respect to my own concerns, with a force of argument worthy of the good sense of the house of Ventadour, to persuade me that I was obliged both by reason of the hatred which the Prince bore to me, and by the engagements into which I was entered with the Queen, to hinder the Duke from joining his forces with those of Mr. de Nemours. This is exactly what I answered him, or rather

rather what I dictated to him whilſt he was writing it down in his table-book, that he might, at my requeſt, ſhew it both the Queen and the Cardinal.

'I have promiſed to come to no accommodation 'with the Prince; I have declared that I could not 'abandon his Royal Highneſs, nor conſequently for-'bear ſerving him in all that he ſhould undertake for 'oppoſing the return of the Cardinal. This is what 'I have told the Queen in the preſence of the Duke; 'this is what I have told the Duke in the Queen's 'preſence; and this is what I have faithfully done 'all along. The Count de Fieſque is every day 'aſſuring Mr. de Briſſac, that the Prince will give 'me Carte-blanche whenever I pleaſe; this I receive 'with all the reſpect which I owe the Prince, but 'without making any anſwer to his offer. The 'Duke commands me to give him my opinion of 'what he can do beſt, and to ground it upon his 'reſolution of never conſenting to the Cardinal's 'return; I believe that I am obliged in honour and 'in conſcience to tell his Royal Highneſs that he will 'give the Cardinal all the advantage, except he forms 'a body of troops conſiderable enough to oppoſe 'his, and to make a diverſion of thoſe with which he 'oppreſſes the Prince of Condé. In ſhort, I intreat 'you to tell the Queen, that I do nothing but what 'I have always told her that I would do, and that ſhe 'cannot have forgot what I have ſo often ſaid to her. 'That there is not one man in the kingdom more 'ſorry than I, to ſee things in a condition which not 'only gives leave to a ſubject, but even obliges him, 'to ſpeak to his miſtreſs in the manner I do.'

This gave me an occaſion to acquaint Mr. Damville with what had formerly paſſed upon that ſubject, in the converſations which I have had with the Queen. He was touched with it, becauſe he was well affected and devoted to the King's perſon; and he was ſo much moved, chiefly at the effort, which I told him I had made to let the Queen know that it was wholly in her power, to become abſolute miſtreſs

of all our concerns, and of mine more than any other; that that gentleman, out of affection to me, opened himself more than he had done, and said: 'This wretch (meaning the Cardinal) is going to ruin 'all; look to yourself, for he is bent upon hindering 'you from being a Cardinal; this is all I can say to 'you.' You will see by and by that I knew more upon that head than this gentleman.

As we were discoursing, Mr. Damville and I, in this manner, the Duke came back to us, and leaning upon the President de Bellievre, he acquainted Mr. Damville that the Dutchess desired to speak with him; and sitting down after he was gone, he said to me: 'I have informed Mr. de Bellievre of what I have 'told Mr. Damville in your presence; but I must 'discover to you both a thing which it had been very 'improper for me to speak of to him. I am cruelly 'imbarrassed; for I perceive that the thing which I 'have maintained to him to be necessary, and which 'is so in effect, is however very bad, which I believe 'has never happened before in any other affair, 'except in this. I have been all night long reflect-'ing on it; I have recalled to my memory the whole 'intrigue of the league, the faction of the Hugue-'nots, the movements of the Prince of Orange; and 'I have found nothing in all of them so difficult as 'what I meet with at every hour, or rather at every 'instant.' At this he gathered up and enlarged upon all that you have seen hitherto scattered up and down these sheets upon this subject; and I likewise answered him all that you may have observed there of my sentiments. It being impossible to fix a conversation that runs wholly on uncertainties, the Duke instead of answering me, answered himself; and what always happens in this case is, that he that does so, never perceives it, which makes the conversation go on without an end. I intreated the Duke for that reason to give me leave to set down in writing my sentiments on the state of things. I told him that I required but one hour to do it. To tell you the truth,

I was

I was not ſorry to find at all events an opportunity of having what I had ſpoken to him occaſionally, confirmed to him by the Preſident de Bellievre. The Duke took me at my word; he went into the gallery, where an infinite number of perſons were waiting for him, and I wrote upon the table in the library, what you are going to read, of which I have ſtill the original.

'I believe that the matter which is at preſent to 'be diſcuſſed, is not what his Royal Highneſs might 'or ought hitherto to have done; and I am even 'perſuaded that it is inconvenient in great affairs, 'to repeat paſt matters, except only with an intent 'to refreſh one's memory, in reſpect to the relation 'they have to things to come. The Duke has but 'four ways to follow, which are; either to come to 'an accommodation with the Queen, that is, with 'Cardinal Mazarin; or to unite intimately with the 'Prince; or to form a third party in the kingdom; 'or to remain in the ſtate in which he is at preſent, that is, to hold a little with all ſides; with the 'Queen, by remaining united with the parliament, 'who, at the ſame time that they are railing at the 'Cardinal, preſerve a regard for the King's authority, 'which breaks twice a day the Prince's meaſures; 'with the Prince, by joining his forces with thoſe of 'Mr. de Nemours; with the parliament, by ſpeaking 'againſt Mazarin, and not uſing at the ſame time the 'authority which his birth and the love that the 'people of Paris have for him, give him, for puſhing on that company further than they have a mind 'to go. Of theſe four ways, the firſt, which is to 'come to an accommodation with the Cardinal, has 'always been excluded from all his Royal Highneſs's deliberations, becauſe the Duke has always 'gone upon this ſuppoſition, that it was againſt both 'his dignity and his ſafety. The ſecond, which is to 'unite wholly and intirely with the Prince, has not 'been admitted neither by the Duke, becauſe he has 'been unwilling even to imagine that he could be

'capable of propoſing to him (theſe were the words 'which the Duke uſed) to divide from the parliament, 'and abandon himſelf by that means, both to the 'diſcretion of the Prince, and to the wavering ways 'of Mr. de la Rochefoucaut. The third, which is 'to form a third party in the kingdom, has been 'rejected by his Royal Highneſs, both becauſe it 'may be followed with conſequences too dangerous 'for the ſtate, and becauſe it could ſucceed but by 'forcing the parliament to follow a conduct oppoſite 'to the manner and forms of that company, which 'cannot be done but by means ſtill more oppoſite to 'the inclination and maxims of the Duke. The 'fourth, which is that which his Royal Highneſs 'follows at preſent, is the very thing which cauſes 'his preſent trouble and unquietneſs, becauſe by 'holding a little with the other ways, it has almoſt 'all the inconveniencies of each, and has, properly 'ſpeaking, not one advantage of any of them. In 'obedience to his Royal Highneſs, I ſhall give my 'opinion upon theſe ſeveral ways. Though as to 'my private concerns I might find my advantage in 'the Duke's reconcilement with the Cardinal; and 'though on the other hand, I have declared my-'ſelf ſo much againſt that miniſter, that my opinion 'upon any thing that relates to him, may, and 'even ought to be ſuſpected; I do not heſitate to 'tell his Royal Highneſs, that he cannot without 'diſhonouring himſelf, keep any medium upon 'that article, conſidering the diſpoſition of all 'the parliaments, of all the towns, and of all the 'people; and that he can the leſs do it with any 'ſafety to himſelf, conſidering the preſent poſture of 'affairs, the diſpoſition of the Prince of Condé, &c. 'The reaſons which ſupport that opinion are ſo ob-'vious, that I need not explain them. I intreat his 'Royal Highneſs not to command me to tell him my 'thoughts on the ſecond way, which is that of uniting 'entirely with the Prince; and that for two reaſons, of 'which the firſt is, that the private engagements which

'I am

'I am entered into, even with his own consent, with
'the Queen upon that subject, are a sufficient reason
'for him to believe that I might be moved by my
'private interest in delivering my opinion. My second
'reason for not meddling in this matter is, that I am
'convinced that if his Royal Highness was resolved to
'separate from the parliament, the thing to be con-
'sidered would not be in that case, whether he ought
'to unite with the Prince, but what he ought to do to
'keep the Prince submissive to him; and this submission
'from the Prince to his Royal Highness is one of the
'chief reasons that has obliged me to propose to him
'a third party, upon which I must enlarge more than
'I have yet done, because it is necessary to speak of
'that third way, jointly with the fourth way, which is
'the holding a little on all sides. The Prince has taken
'steps towards Spain, which can never agree, except
'by miracle, with the practice of the parliament;
'and he, or those of his party, are every day taking
'some towards the court, which agree still less with
'the present constitution of that body. His Royal
'Highness stands unmoved in his resolution of not
'dividing from it, which he would be obliged to do,
'should he unite intimately with a Prince, who, on
'the one side, by his negotiations, or at least by those
'of his dependants, with Mazarin, keeps that com-
'pany in a continual jealousy, and who, on the other
'side, by his publick union with Spain, obliges them
'once or twice a-day, to declare openly against him.
'It happens that at the same time that the Duke, for
'the reasons which I have mentioned, cannot unite
'with the Prince, he finds himself obliged how-
'ever to prevent the Prince's ruin, which would give
'the Cardinal too much strength. Taking this for
'granted, there is no other choice left, but that of
'a third party, or that which his Royal Highness is
'following at this day. I think it therefore necessary,
'before I enter into the detail and explication of a
'third party, to examine the inconveniencies and the
'advantages of the way which his Royal Highness is

'now in. The first advantage which I find in it, is 'its carrying with it an appearance of prudence, 'which is always advantageous, because prudence is a 'virtue on which the generality of mankind is less 'able to distinguish exactly, than in any other, what 'is real from what is only specious. The second is, 'that this way not being decisive, it leaves, or seems 'to leave, his Royal Highness always at liberty to 'make a new choice, whenever he meets with any 'thing that suits his conveniency. The third advan-'tage is, that so long as his Royal Highness follows 'this way, he will not renounce his right of being a 'mediator, which he naturally has by his birth, and 'which alone may offer him an opportunity of re-'trieving with advantage if he takes hold of it, all 'the disagreeable steps which he has already taken, 'or may for the future be obliged to take, in relation 'to the court. These, in my opinion, are the three 'sorts of advantages, which are to be found in the 'way which his Royal Highness is now following. 'Let us now examine the inconveniencies, which are 'so many that I can hardly distinguish them all. I 'will therefore stick only to that which is capital, 'because it embraces all the rest. His Royal High-'ness, by preserving a regard for the court, which, 'properly speaking, is the strengthening of Mazarin, 'with whom alone he refuses to be reconciled, offends 'the other parties enough in all appearance to cause 'the ruin, not only of his own, but of these other 'parties; and certainly he offends that of the Prince 'to a degree that will oblige those of that party to 'come to an accommodation with the court, con-'sidering how specious a pretence his Royal Highness 'is giving the Prince for that accommodation, by 'assisting every day at the deliberations of a company, 'that condemns his taking up arms, and registers 'without any hesitation the declarations given against 'him. His Royal Highness sees the importance of 'this inconvenience, and feels the weight of it, more 'than any body else; but he believes, at least at cer-

'tain inſtants, that the guaranty of the parliament, 'and of the city of Paris, is able at all events to 'guard and to ſecure him, which is the thing that I 'have all along taken the liberty to conteſt with him, 'with all the reſpect due to his high birth, becauſe it is 'impoſſible but that the parliament by continuing to 'ſtick cloſe to their forms, muſt fall to nothing at 'the end of a civil war, and that the city, which his 'Royal Highneſs leaves, according to its uſual courſe, 'attached to the parliament, muſt run the ſame fortune 'with that company, becauſe it muſt follow the ſame 'ſteps. Theſe ſteps are properly what will, in ſpite 'of all France and even of all Europe, reſtore the 'Cardinal, as they have already brought him back 'into the kingdom. He hath lately paſſed through a 'great part of it with four or five thouſand adventurers, 'notwithſtanding the troops of his Royal Highneſs, 'which are conſiderable, and at leaſt as good and as 'well trained up to war, as thoſe which have brought 'this miniſter to Poitiers; notwithſtanding that moſt 'of the parliaments have declared againſt him; not-'withſtanding that there is ſcarce any great town in 'the kingdom, on which the court can reckon; not-'withſtanding that all the people are enraged at him. 'This appears prodigious, and yet is not ſo at the 'bottom; for there is nothing more natural, conſider-'ing that the parliament of Paris is contented with the 'arreſts iſſued out from that company, which by for-'bidding all manner of levies, and the ſeizing on the 'King's money, favour much more the Cardinal, than 'the declaring him criminal can hurt him; conſider-'ing that the great towns, whoſe natural motion is to 'follow that of the parliament, are acting exactly in 'the ſame manner that company does; conſidering, in 'ſhort, that his Royal Highneſs's forces can only move 'by means, which, in reſpect to his Royal Highneſs's 'regard for the parliament, have a very great affinity 'with the meaſures of that company, which daily 'declares againſt their moving. It appears to fo-'reigners that his Royal Highneſs leads the parliament,'

'because that company declaims as he does, against the 'Cardinal. The truth is, that it is the parliament 'that leads his Royal Highness, because those of that 'company are apprized that his Royal Highness makes 'but a very slender use of the means he has in hand to 'hurt the Cardinal. The fear of displeasing that 'company is one of the causes that has hindered him 'from putting his troops in action, and from applying 'himself, as much as he had it in his power to do, to 'the levying new ones. The same politicks will 'require of him to compensate the joining of these 'forces with Mr. de Nemours' army, with the com-'pliance and even the approbation which his presence 'will give, to all the deliberations that will be taken, 'even with the greatest heat imaginable, against their 'march. In that manner he will offend the Queen, 'he will exasperate the Cardinal, and that, without 'satisfying the Prince, or contenting the Frondeurs. 'All these views will trouble him still more than any 'thing he has hitherto done, because the objects which 'will occasion them, will magnify at each instant, 'and the catastrophe of the play will be the return of 'a man whose ruin is thought so easy, that his re-'establishment cannot but appear extremely shameful. 'I have taken the liberty to propose to his Royal 'Highness a remedy to these inconveniencies, which I 'shall again mention in this place, that I may not fail 'in any thing which he has commanded me to deduce. 'He has done me the honour to tell me several times, that 'the greatest obstacle to his coming to a final resolution, 'which he owns to be necessary if it be possible, is that 'he cannot do it of himself without falling out with 'the parliament, because that company can never 'come to any such resolution, by reason of their being 'so much attached to their forms, and that they can 'much less do it in what relates to the Prince than in 'any other thing, both for that reason, and for their 'just diffidence of the several cabals which not only 'compose, but which divide that party. These two 'views are certainly very judicious and very prudent,

'and

'and it was from the like consideration that I had 'proposed to his Royal Highness a way which appeared 'to me to be almost a sure remedy to these two incon- 'veniencies which are certainly very great and dange- 'rous. That way was, that his Royal Highness should 'form a third party, composed of the parliaments and 'of the great cities of the kingdom; independent of, 'and even divided by publick declarations, from 'foreigners and from the Prince of Condé himself, by 'reason of his conjunction with them. The proper 'expedient in my opinion to bring this about, was 'that his Royal Highness should in a full assembly 'of the Chambers explain his intentions clearly and 'fully, by saying to the company, that the regard which 'he had all along preserved for them, had obliged him 'to act contrary to his views, his safety, and his repu- 'tation; that he commended their good intentions, 'but that he desired them to consider that the ambi- 'guity which it caused in their conduct, would destroy 'the good intentions with which the whole kingdom 'conspired against Cardinal Mazarin. That that 'minister, who was an object of horror to all the 'people, laughed at their wrath with 4 or 5000 men 'only, who had carried him triumphantly to Court, 'because the parliament was every day giving out 'arrests in his favour, at the time that the company 'railed against him the most bitterly; that his Royal 'Highness, in compliance to their body, had pre- 'served some measures which had conduced to the like 'effects; that finding the evil to increase, he could 'delay no longer to seek out for remedies; that he met 'with enough, but that he was very glad to concert 'them with the company, whose members ought on 'their side to come to a good resolution, and to fix 'themselves once for all upon some effectual means of 'expelling Mazarin, having judged so many times 'his expulsion necessary for the service of his Majesty; 'that the only means to come to that end, was to 'manage well the war, for which effect they must 'divest themselves of their scruples; that for his part,

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'the only one which he intended to preſerve for the 'future was in reſpect to the enemies of the ſtate, with 'whom he declared that he would have neither union 'nor correſpondence; that he looked upon theſe ſen- 'timents to be the leſs commendable in him, becauſe 'he knew his own ſtrength, and that he had no need 'of their aid; that from this conſideration, but more 'ſtill from that of the evil which a conjunction with a 'foreign enemy is always able to cauſe to the crown, 'he neither approved of, nor concurred in any thing 'that the Prince had done in reſpect to that; but that, 'excepting that article, he was reſolved to do like 'him, and to obſerve no longer the meaſures which he 'had hitherto kept; he would raiſe both money and 'forces, he would put himſelf at the head of affairs, 'he would ſeize upon the King's money, and would 'treat as enemies thoſe that ſhould oppoſe it in any 'form or manner whatſoever. I was of opinion that 'his Royal Highneſs might add, that the company 'was not ignorant that the people of Paris being ſo 'well affected to him as they were, it was eaſier for 'him to execute what he propoſed than to ſpeak it, 'but that the regard he had for them made him willing 'to acquaint them with his reſolution, before he carried 'it to the town-houſe, where he deſigned to declare 'his intentions that very afternoon, and to deliver 'commiſſions there at the ſame time. I entreat his 'Royal Highneſs to remember that when I propoſed 'this way, I took the liberty to aſſure him upon my 'life, that this ſpeech, joined to the circumſtances 'which I propoſed at the ſame time, which were to 'march to the parliament accompanied with a good 'number of nobility, gentry, clergymen and people, 'would receive no manner of contradiction. I re- 'member that I went ſtill further, and told his Royal 'Highneſs that the parliament, which would the firſt 'day come into this project only by ſurprize, would 'approve of it heartily the next. All companies are 'ſo made, and I have not ſeen one which in three or 'four days time would not naturally accuſtom them-

'ſelves

'ſelves even to what they received at firſt only by 'conſtraint. I repreſented to his Royal Highneſs, 'that after having put his affairs upon that foot, he 'ought no longer to fear that the parliament ſhould 'forſake him; neither could he any longer fear to be 'ſacrificed to the Court, by the negociations of the ſeveral 'cabals of the Prince, becauſe thoſe of the parliament, 'who were of the court party, would be too nearly and 'perſonally intereſted with his Royal Highneſs, to 'ſuffer themſelves to be penetrated into, and be made 'tools of; and becauſe the Prince himſelf would be 'ſo much in the dependance of his Royal Highneſs, 'that his chiefeſt care would be to have a ſpecial 'regard for him. For in my opinion there would 'have been no manner of room to fear that the Prince 'ſhould have come to an accommodation with the 'Court, had his Royal Highneſs followed that way, 'conſidering the ſtate of things, the ſtrength of his 'Royal Highneſs's party, the declaration of the 'publick, and the ſecret meaſures which his Royal 'Highneſs might have preſerved with the Prince. His 'Royal Highneſs knows better than any one whether 'he is not abſolute maſter of the people of Paris, and 'whether, when he is pleaſed to ſpeak peremptorily 'like a ſon of France, and like one who is, and who 'knows himſelf to be the head of a great party, there 'is one man in the parliament and in the town-houſe, 'that durſt, I will not ſay reſiſt, but contradict him. 'His Royal Highneſs will not without doubt have 'forgot that I had propoſed to him at the ſame 'time ſome previous things to be done abroad, that 'were neither remote nor difficult: The rallying the 'broken remnants of my Lord Montroſs's troops, the 'taking into pay the diſbanded forces of Newburgh, 'the declaration of eight or ten of the largeſt cities in 'the kingdom. His Royal Highneſs hath not thought 'fit to hearken to this propoſal, becauſe he thinks that 'the conſequences of it would be dangerous to the 'State. God grant that the way he is in proves not 'more dangerous, and that the confuſion into which

'it

'it will in all likelihood throw him, be not more to 'be feared than the party I have propoſed, which at 'leaſt would have a ſon of France at its head. I had 'in Paris 300 officers at my diſpoſal, and the Viſcount 'de Lamet would have gathered up 2000 horſe out of 'the diſbanded forces of Newburgh. I was likewiſe 'aſſured of the towns of Limoges, Marville, Senlis, 'and Thoulouze.'

This is what I wrote upon the table in the library, in leſs than two hours time. I read it to the Duke, in the preſence of the Preſident de Bellievre, who approved of it, and backed it with a much greater force than I had done myſelf. The conteſt grew warm, the Duke maintaining, that without a clutter of this nature, (for ſo he called it) he would hinder the parliament from declaring againſt the march of Mr. de Nemours's troops, which was the thing he feared moſt, being upon the point of joining his own to them. You will find that he was not miſtaken as to that, as I had myſelf been, and as I was no leſs in another point; for I maintained all along to the Duke, jointly with the Preſident de Bellievre, who was of my opinion, that it would not be in his power to hinder the parliament from proceeding to the execution of the declaration againſt the Prince, though that company had put out an arreſt whereby they engaged not to do it, till the Cardinal was expelled the kingdom; for the Court found ſo little room for that execution, on the ſide of the parliament, that the miniſters durſt not ſo much as propoſe it.

Theſe ſucceſſes contributed much to the undoing of the Duke, for they lulled him aſleep, and prevented his taking care of his own ſafety. I will go on upon theſe particulars, after I have given you an account of what paſſed in this converſation, in reſpect to my promotion to the cardinalſhip, which happened juſt at this time.

The Duke, who was the man in the world the fartheſt from believing that it was poſſible to ſpeak without ſome intereſted view, told me, in the heat of our

our conteſt, that he could not conceive what intereſt I could find in a propoſal, which by breaking all manner of meaſures with the Court, would certainly cauſe my nomination to be revoked. I anſwered him, that I was by this time a Cardinal, or that I was not like to be one for a great while: but that I begged of him to be perſuaded, that ſuppoſing that my promotion depended upon that inſtant, I would in nowiſe change my ſentiments; becauſe what I had propoſed was for his ſervice, without any relation to my intereſt: 'And I beg only, Sir, added I, in order to 'convince you fully of this truth, that you would be 'pleaſed to remember, that the very day on which 'the Queen granted my nomination, I declared to 'her Majeſty, that I would never quit your ſervice, 'but would adviſe you in the manner which I thought 'the moſt tending to your honour. I think that I am 'at this time acquitting myſelf faithfully of that 'engagement; and to convince you of it, I moſt 'humbly intreat your Royal Highneſs to ſend to the 'Queen the memorial which I juſt now wrote.'

The Duke was aſhamed of what he had ſaid to me. He treated me with all the civility poſſible. He threw my memorial into the fire, and he left the library as obſtinate (ſaid the preſident de Bellievre to me, ſoftly) as he was when he came in.

I was telling you, that I had told the Duke that I was by this time a Cardinal, or was not like to be one for a long while. I was but very little miſtaken, for I was made one five or ſix days after. I received the news of it upon the laſt of February, by an expreſs which the Great Duke of Tuſcany ſent to me. I will tell you how that matter paſt at Rome, after I have made you ſome excuſes for having tired you ſo much, as without doubt I have done, both with the length of this laſt memorial, and with that of the Duke's diſcourſe to Mr. Damville, which are both full of a thouſand circumſtances that you have already ſeen diſperſed in ſeveral places of theſe memoirs. But moſt of theſe circumſtances having given birth to that body;

monſtrous

monſtrous in its form, and almoſt unconceivable, even in that ſort of hiſtorical writing that may be called marvellous; a body of which the members ſeem to have had no manner of motion that was natural to them, having acted in a manner even oppoſite to one another; I have thought it even a piece of good luck to have met in the courſe of this narration with a ſubject that has obliged me to gather them all together, that you may with greater eaſe perceive at once theſe circumſtances, which being only diſperſed in ſeveral places, darken the truth of hiſtory by apparent contradictions, which nothing can reconcile but the ſetting in one view together the ſeveral arguments and matters of fact. I return to my promotion.

You have ſeen, in the ſecond volume of theſe memoirs, that I had ſent to Rome the abbot Charrier, who found the face of that court altogether changed, by the retreat, rather than the diſgrace of the Signora Olimpia *, ſiſter-in-law to Pope Innocent †, who had been forced to take ſome notice of a kind of reprimand which the Emperor, at the inſtigation of the Jeſuits, had cauſed the nuntio at Vienna to make in his name to his holineſs upon that account. He had ceaſed to ſee the Signora, and he allayed the cruel vexation, which it was always thought that that had cauſed him, with pretty frequent converſations with the Princeſs de Roſſane ‡, his nephew's wife, who, tho' very

* Donna Olimpia Maldachini, wife to Signor Pamphilio, brother to Pope Innocent the Tenth, whom ſhe governed at pleaſure during his papacy. The complaints and the railleries which were made againſt the Pope on that occaſion, obliged him to remove that lady. Amongſt other ſatirical pieces, a medal was ſtruck, wherein Signora Olimpia was repreſented in all the pontifical habits, and the Pope ſpinning at a diſtaff. Signor Olimpia died of the plague at Orvietto in 1656.

† John Baptiſt Pamfilio, elected Pope in 1643, in the room of Urban the Eighth, to the great diſſatisfaction of Cardinal Mazarin, and deceaſed in 1655.

‡ Wife to the Prince Camillo, nephew to the Pope. This lady, the Signora Olimpia, and the Princeſſes Ludoviſi and Giuſtiniani,

very witty, came not nigh the genius of the Signora, but who, in recompence, was much younger and handſomer. She acquired in effect an influence over the Pope's mind, and ſo great, that the Signora Olimpia conceived a cruel jealouſy at it, which having ſet an edge to her wit, already very ſharp and active, made her at laſt find out the means of ruining her daughter-in-law with the Pope, and of regaining her former credit with him. My nomination fell out juſt at the time that the Princeſs of Roſſane was in her greateſt favour, and it appeared on this occaſion that fortune would repair the loſs I had made in the perſon of Panzirolo. It was on this only occaſion that I ever found it favourable. I have told you, in another place, the reaſons I had to believe, that the Princeſs of Roſſane would favour my pretenſions, and that much more than the Signora Olimpia, who did nothing but by the help of money, and you will eaſily judge that it had been pretty difficult to perſuade me to part with money for the buying of a hat. The Abbot Charrier found at Rome all that I had expected from the Princeſs of Roſſane, and the firſt advice ſhe gave him, was to diſtruſt to the laſt degree our ambaſſador, who, to the ſecret orders which the court had given him againſt me, joined the immoderate paſſion which he himſelf had for the hat. The Abbot Charrier made an excellent uſe of this advice, for he amuſed the ambaſſador all along by appearing to put an intire confidence in him, and at the ſame time by ſhewing my promotion as a thing very remote. The hatred which the Pope had preſerv'd for a long time againſt Cardinal Mazarin's perſon, gave a colour to Charrier's deceit; and the intereſt of Monſignor Chigi, ſecretary of ſtate, who has ſince been Alexander the Seventh, concurred likewiſe very effectually to it. Chigi was ſure of the hat at the firſt promotion, which

niani, who were conſtantly at the Vatican, gave occaſion to Paſquin to ſay to Marforio, 'ſe tu vuoi fare il Ruffiano, troverai 'donne al Vaticano.'

made

made him haſten it as much as he could. Monſignor Azolini, who was ſecretary of the briefs, and who had been attached to Panzirolo, had inherited from him a great contempt for Mazarin, and a great deal of good will for me. All this ſerved to deceive the Bailli de Vallancey our ambaſſador, who had not ſo much as the leaſt notice of my promotion, till after it was over. Pope Innocent hath ſince told me, that he knew for certain, that Vallancey had in his pocket the King's letter for the revoking my nomination, with an order however not to deliver it but in caſe of neceſſity, and at the opening of the conſiſtory in which the Cardinals were to be declared; and the Abbot Charrier had ſent me two expreſſes with the ſame advice. What is certain, and what I have ſince learnt from Champfleury, captain of the guards to Cardinal Mazarin, is, that as ſoon as his eminence had the news of my promotion, which he received at Saumur, he ordered him to go to the Queen in all haſte, and to intreat her in his name that ſhe would diſſemble and appear joyful at it.

I cannot help diſcovering in this place, for the ſake of truth, my own imprudence, which had like to have made me loſe the hat. I fancied to myſelf, and that very wrongfully, that it was againſt the dignity of the poſt I was in to ſtay ſo long for it; and that this delay of three or four months, which they were obliged to make at Rome for the regulating a promotion of ſixteen Cardinals, went againſt the promiſes which I had received from thence, and the manner in which I had been courted to ſtand for a candidate. I grew angry, and I wrote a letter to the Abbot Charrier, which I ordered him to make public, and which was writ in a tone neither prudent nor decent. It was the moſt tolerable piece for ſtile of any I ever wrote. I have looked for it to inſert it here, but could not find it. The prudence of the Abbot, who ſuppreſſed it at Rome, gained me by the event ſome reputation with thoſe that had ſeen it in France, who thought that I owed my promotion to it; any thing high and bold being

being always magnified when it is crowned with ſucceſs. This did not prevent my being heartily aſhamed of it, in which ſentiment I ſtill continue; and I fancy that I am in ſome manner making amends for the fault by publiſhing it. I return to my narration.

I had carried it, as I remember, to the 16th of February, 1652. There was an aſſembly of the Chambers on the 17th, in which you will ſee at once, as in a kind of an abridgment, which is more than ſufficient in my opinion, all that paſſed in the aſſemblies from that day to the firſt of April, though they were held pretty frequently. The Duke opened the ſitting, by repreſenting to the Company that the Lettre-de-cachet, that had been read there upon the 15th, whereby he was taxed with favouring the entrance of the enemies into the kingdom, could proceed from no other cauſe than the calumny he was aſperſed with, and to which the Queen was willing to lend an ear; that the troops which Mr. de Nemours led were Germans, and conſequently could not be called enemies. This was, properly ſpeaking, the only ſubject which employed theſe aſſemblies. The Preſident le Bailleul, who was at the head of them, began commonly to enlarge upon the neceſſity of deliberating on his majeſty's Lettre-de-cachet: the concluſions of the King's council were all along for commanding the commons to oppoſe Mr. de Nemours's march: and the Duke continued conſtantly to maintain, that the troops which he commanded were not Spaniſh, and that after the declaration which he made, that as ſoon as the Cardinal was expelled the kingdom, they would enter into the King's pay, it was altogether ſuperfluous to deliberate upon that ſubject. This conteſt was renewed every day, and even more than once in a ſitting; and it is certain, as I have ſaid before, that the Duke ſhifted it off all along. But it is not leſs certain, that he was amuſed by this pretended advantage, which he was ſo well pleaſed to have obtained, when we had been of a contrary opinion, that he

he would not so much as consider whether what he had obtained was sufficient; that is, that he would not enough distinguish between the parliament's conniving at, or declaring for, a thing*. - - - - -

Except the contests which I have given you an account of, and in which there were all along some of the contradictions which I have so often mentioned, nothing passed in these assemblies of the chambers worthy, in my opinion, of your curiosity. In some of them there were read the answers which most of the parliaments of France made at that time to that of Paris, which were all of them conformable to its intentions, in acquainting it with the arrests which they had put out against Mazarin. The other assemblies were employed in providing for the preservation of the funds appointed for the payment of the town-house annuities, and of the officers salaries. It was resolved, in the assembly of the 13th of March, to meet upon that subject in the chamber of St. Lewis, with the other sovereign courts. I was present at no assembly from the first of March, both because the ceremonial of Rome does not suffer Cardinals to be present at any public assemblies, till they have received the cap; and because that dignity giving no rank in the parliament, except when Cardinals accompany the king thither, the place that I could have in his absence being only that of coadjutor, which is below that of the Dukes and Peers, had not well agreed with the pre-eminence of the purple.

I must confess that I was extremely glad to have a pretence, and even a reason to go no longer to these assemblies, which in truth were become not only tedious, but insupportable. You will see that the assemblies which followed these, were pretty much of the like nature; but before I speak of them, I must touch as lightly as I can upon some particulars that

* The French copy begins in this place a new period, but it being interrupted by a chasm which makes the sense imperfect, I have left it out,

relate

relate to Paris, and say likewise something in general in relation to Guienne.

You may remember what I have said of Mr. de Chavigny in the second volume of these Memoirs, and that I have told you that he retired into Touraine a little after the King was come of age. He found not the secret there of making himself easy, but on the contrary he grew weary to a point, that he came back to Paris upon the first pretence that was offered him. That pretence was grounded upon the advice sent him by Mr. de Gaucourt, which made it necessary for him, as he said, to prevent the cabals I was forming near the Duke against the interest of the Prince. Mr. de Gaucourt was a gentleman of a very noble family, being descended from the ancient and powerful Counts of Clermont in Beauvoisis, so famous in our history. He had wit and industry, but he had too much assumed the character of a negotiator, which is not the best qualification required in negotiations. He was attached to the Prince, and was his chief correspondent at Paris. His principal care, at least as it appeared to me, was to ruin my credit with the Duke; but finding it no easy matter, he had recourse to Mr. de Chavigny, who came back to Paris with all haste, either for that reason, or taking that for his pretence. Mr. de Rohan, who arrived at that time, very well pleased with the manner in which he had defended Angers, though he had done it but very poorly, joined himself against me with the two others. They attacked me in form as a secret favourer of Mazarin, and whilst their emissaries were working upon such of the mob as might be won with money, they omitted nothing to move the Duke by their calumnies, which were supported with all the cunning learnt at Court, in which art Ravai, Beloi, and Goulas, belonging to the Duke, but partisans of the Prince, were not ignorant. I experienced, in this occasion, that the most refined courtiers may be easily deceived, when they rely too much on their conjectures. Those which these gentlemen made upon my promotion were,

were, that I had obtained the hat by means only of the engagement which I was entered into with the Court. This was the ground on which they went; they reviled me with the Duke upon that account. His Royal Highneſs, who knew the whole truth, made a jeſt of it. Inſtead of ruining me, they eſtabliſhed me with him; becauſe in reſpect to calumny, all that does not hurt the perſon calumniated, is advantageous to him; as in this caſe, where you ſee that theſe gentlemen fell themſelves into the trap which they had prepared for me. I was one day ſaying to the Duke, that I could not conceive how he did not grow weary of all the impertinencies which were ſo often repeated to him againſt me; his anſwer was: 'Do you count 'for nothing the pleaſure one has of diſcovering every 'morning people's wickedneſs hid under the name of 'zeal; and every evening their impertinence under 'the diſguiſe of penetration?' I told the Duke, that I received with reſpect that ſaying of his, which I looked upon to be a good leſſon for all thoſe who had the honour to approach great Princes.

What the Prince's partiſans were working with the people againſt me, had like to have coſt me dearer. They had ſome hired perſons, whoſe bawling incommoded me more at that time than when I went abroad accompanied by a great number of gentlemen, and of ſervants, before whom they durſt not appear. For, as I had not yet the cap, which the French Cardinals receive only from the King, to whom the Pope diſpatches an expreſs for that purpoſe, I could now go abroad only incognito, according to the rules of the ceremonial; ſo that when I went to his Royal Highneſs, it was always in a plain coach without any liveries; and I even went into the library by the little ſtair-caſe that is next the gallery, that I might avoid the great ſtair-caſe, and the great apartment. One day that I was there with the Duke, Bruneau came in, all in a fright, to inform me that there were in the court two or three hundred of theſe bawlers, who ſaid that I betrayed his Royal Highneſs, and that they would kill me.

The Duke appeared ſtruck down at this news. I obſerv'd it, and the example of the Mareſchal de Clermont, killed in the arms of the Dauphin, whoſe fright could at moſt but equal that which I ſaw the Duke in, coming to my remembrance, I took a reſolution, which I thought to be the ſafeſt, though it appeared the moſt hazardous; becauſe I made no doubt but that the leaſt appearance of fright in his Royal Highneſs would occaſion my being murdered; and becauſe I ſtill made leſs doubt, that the apprehenſion of diſpleaſing thoſe that were bawling againſt Mazarin, whoſe murmurings he dreaded to a degree that was ridiculous, not to mention his temper, that made him ſtart at the leaſt thing, would create in him a much greater fright than was needful for my undoing. I intreated him to let me do as I would, and that he would immediately ſee what contempt one ought to have for theſe mercenary raſcals, that were paid for doing what they did. He offered me his guards, but after a manner that made me judge that my refuſing of them would be very acceptable. I went down, though the Mareſchal d'Etampes had thrown himſelf down upon his knees to prevent my going; I went down, I ſay, with only Chateau-Renaut and d'Hagueville, and going directly to that troop of ſeditious mob, I aſked them who was their chief? One of their crew, who had an old yellow feather in his hat, anſwered me inſolently, 'Tis I.' I then turned to the gate that leads into the Rue de Tournon, and calling to the guards, I bid them hang that raſcal at the iron rails. At this the rogue making me a low bow, told me, that he had no thought of doing any thing againſt the reſpect which he owed me; that he came with his comrades, only to tell me that there was a report of my carrying his Royal Highneſs to court, and of reconciling him there with Mazarin; but that they were far from believing it; that they were my humble ſervants, and ready to die for my ſervice, if I would promiſe them to be always a good Frondeur. They offered to accompany me (but I did not want

their convoy) to the place where I was going, which was not far off. It was to Madam de la Vergne's, who had married for her second husband the Chevalier de Sevigné, and who lived at the same house where Madam de la Fayette her daughter lives now. This Madam de la Vergne was at the bottom an honest woman, but covetous to the last degree, and more susceptible of vanity for her managing all manner of intrigues, without exception, than any woman I have ever known. That which I proposed at that time to her, and for which I wanted her service, was of a nature to startle a prude at first. I seasoned however my discourse with so many protestations of having nothing dishonest or uncivil in my thoughts, that what I proposed was not rejected; it is true, that she would not hearken to it but upon my promising her most solemnly, that I would never require any thing of her that should extend beyond what she could do in conscience towards procuring a good, chaste, innocent, and holy friendship. I promised whatever was required of me; my word was relied upon, and Madam de la Vergne was even well pleased with herself to have met with an occasion, very likely to break in time my commerce with Madam de Pomereux, which was not thought so innocent. That into which I was to enter was to be altogether spiritual and angelical; for it was to be with Mademoiselle de la Loupe *, whom you have known since under the name of Madam d'Olonne. She had pleased me very much at a little assembly, which had met some days before in the Dutchess of Orleans's closet. She was handsome, and had besides a reserved and modest air. She lodged just by Madam de la Vergne, and was such an intimate friend of her daughter's, that she had a door made in a wall to come to her the more easily. The attachment which the Chevalier de Sevigné had for

* Who married the Count d'Olonne, and became famous for her gallantries, of which the Count de Bussy Rabutin speaks so much in his Histoires Amoureuse de Gaules.

me,

me, my going frequently to his houſe, and what I knew of his wife, contributed much to my hopes. But theſe hopes proved vain by the event; for though I had not my eyes pulled out, though I was not ſtifled for want of leave to vent my ſighs, though I could perceive by certain airs that the lady was not diſpleaſed to ſee a Prince of the Church ſubmit to her charms; the lady preſerved all along a ſeverity, or rather a modeſty, which kept my tongue tied, though it uſed to give itſelf liberty enough; which will appear ſurpriſing to thoſe who have not known Mademoiſelle de la Loupe, and have only heard talk of Madam d'Olonne. This ſtory, as you ſee, is not much to the advantage of my gallantry. I paſs for a moment to what was doing in Guienne.

As I pretend only to give you a preciſe account of what I have myſelf ſeen, I will touch but very lightly on the affairs of that province, and no further than it is neceſſary for your underſtanding better what happened there that had any relation to the affairs at Paris. I am even in doubt whether the little I intend to ſay will be very juſt, having it only from accounts, the exactneſs of which I dare not warrant. I have done all I could to get from the Prince of Condé the particulars of his actions that related to the war, the leaſt of which have always been greater than the moſt heroic ones of other men; and it would be a very great pleaſure to me to have it in my power to adorn and honour theſe memoirs with them. He had promiſed to give me an abſtract of them, and I believe that he would have done it, if his averſion for relating his own wonders, and the trouble it would have put him to, were not as great as his inclination and ability for performing them.

I have told you that the Count d'Harcourt commanded the King's armies in Guienne, and that his troops were the beſt diſciplined of any in Europe. The Prince's forces were all new levies, except what Mr. de Marſin had brought from Catalonia, which did not make up a body conſiderable enough to op-

pose those of the King. The Prince, properly speaking, maintained his affairs merely by his own presence. You have already seen how he had seized upon Saintes. He left the Prince of Tarente to command there, and returning himself into Guienne, he encamped his forces near Bourg. The Count d'Harcourt followed him, and he detached the Chevalier d'Aubeterre to reconnoitre his camp. That Chevalier was repulsed by the regiment of Baltazar, which gave the Prince time to post himself upon a rising ground, where he made his body of troops appear so great, which was in effect but very little, that the Count d'Harcourt durst not attack him. The Prince retired to Libourne after this action, which was that of a very great general. He left some foot there, and he went to Bergerac, a place famous during the wars about religion, and he caused its fortifications to be raised up again. Mr. de St. Luc, Lord Lieutenant of Guienne, thought that he might surprize the Prince of Conti, who was lodged with some new-raised troops at Caude-Coste, near Agen, which made Mr. de St. Luc advance that way, with 2000 foot and 700 horse, of the best that were in the King's army. He was himself surprized by the Prince of Condé, who was informed of his design, and the Prince attacked him in the midst of his quarters, before he had had any news of the Prince's march. He stood firm however, and posted himself on a rising ground, where he could not be come at but by a narrow pass. Almost the whole day was spent in skirmishing, whilst the Prince was expecting three cannons, which he had sent for to Agen. He had great need of them, for he had in all with him, including the troops of the Prince of Conti, but 500 foot and 2000 horse, all new-raised forces. A weak condition does not commonly inspire boldness, but that of the Prince of Condé went further on this occasion, for it inspired him with a piece of vanity, which is, I believe, the only time he ever gave way to that passion. It came into his thoughts, that if the enemy knew that he was there

there in perſon, it might frighten them ſo as to put them into diſorder. He therefore ſent ſome priſoners back, who failed not to acquaint their own troops with it, and the Prince charging them at the ſame time, they immediately gave ground; and it may be ſaid that they were defeated, rather by the terror of his name, than by the ſhock of his arms. Moſt of their infantry threw themſelves into Miradoux, where they were immediately beſieged. The regiments of Champaign and of Lorrain, whom the Prince would receive but at diſcretion, defended that ſorry place with incredible valour, and gave the Count d'Harcourt time to come to their aid. The Prince ſent back his artillery and baggage to Agen: he put garriſons into ſome ſmall places that might incommode the enemy; and in the evening he came himſelf to Agen, having with him Meſſieurs de la Rochefoucaut, de Marcin, and de Monteſpan, in order to obſerve the deſigns of the Count d'Harcourt, who on his ſide left ſome troops to beſiege, if I am not miſtaken, Staffort, and la Plume; and with the reſt cauſed ſome fortifications that Meſſieurs de Liſlebonne, the Chevalier de Crequi, and Coudrai Montpenſier, had begun at one of the ſuburbs of Agen, to be attack'd. The gentlemen, whom I have laſt named, ſignalized themſelves in this attack, which was made in the preſence of the Prince. The enemies were repulſed with an extraordinary vigour, and the Count d'Harcourt, to comfort himſelf for his loſs, went and took the two ſmall places which I have mentioned.

The Prince of Condé, who had formed the deſign of returning to Paris, for the reaſons which you ſhall preſently ſee, reſolved to leave the Prince of Conti, his brother, to command in Guienne, with Mr. de Marcin for lieutenant-general under him; but he thought it neceſſary, before he left that province, to ſecure entirely the town of Agen, which had indeed declared for him, but having no garriſon, might change its ſide at every inſtant. He prevailed with the jurates, who conſented to ſuffer the regiment of

Conti to be received into the town; but the inhabitants not being of the ſame mind with their magiſtrates, roſe up in arms and ſet up barricadoes. The Prince has been heard to ſay, that he ran a greater riſk on this occaſion, than he would have done in a battle. I have forgot the particulars, and all that I remember is, that Meſſieurs de la Rochefoucaut, de Marſillac, and de Monteſpan, made ſpeeches in the town-houſe, and appeas'd the ſedition to the ſatisfaction of the Prince, of whoſe journey to Paris I am now to ſpeak.

Meſſieurs de Rohan, de Chavigny, and de Gaucourt, were every day preſſing him by letters not to mind ſo entirely the affairs of the provinces, as to neglect thoſe of Paris, which, as it was the capital city, were in every reſpect to be chiefly look'd after. Theſe were Mr. de Rohan's words, in a letter of his which I ſurpriſed. Theſe gentlemen were perſuaded that I broke all their meaſures with the Duke, who indeed, when there was any thing which he would not do for the ſervice of the Prince, excuſed himſelf upon the regard which my poſt at Paris obliged him to have for me. His Royal Highneſs has ſometimes confeſſed to me, that he made uſe of that excuſe on ſome occaſions; and, it is certain, that upon others, he even forced me, by his perſecuting me, to give ſome appearances which might confirm what the Duke would perſuade to theſe gentlemen. I repreſented ſeveral times to him that he would carry matters to a point that would oblige the Prince to come to Paris, which was the thing in the world that he feared moſt. But weak perſons being always moved by preſent objects, more beyond compariſon than by abſent ones, though never ſo near, he choſe rather to believe that it would be long before the Prince could undertake that journey, than to deprive himſelf of the preſent eaſe he found in charging me as the cauſe of the murmurs and complaints which the Prince's miniſters were making him at each inſtant on a thouſand things. But theſe gentlemen finding

finding themſelves more fatigued than ſatisfied with the Duke's ſhifts, earneſtly preſſed the Prince to come with all poſſible haſte to their aſſiſtance; and their inſtances received a mighty ſupport from the news which the Prince had at that ſame time from Mr. de Nemours, the particulars of which it is neceſſary for me to touch upon.

Mr. de Nemours entered into France at that time without any reſiſtance, all the King's forces being divided; and though Mr. d'Elbeuf and Meſſieurs d'Aumont, d'Igby, and de Vaubecourt, had forces ſpread up and down, he penetrated as far as Mantes, and paſſed the Seine upon the bridge there by the leave of the Duke de Lude governor of that town, who was diſcontented with the Court, becauſe the ſeals had been taken from his father-in-law. He encamped his forces at Houdan, and came himſelf to Paris with Mr. de Tavannes, who commanded ſuch of the Prince's troops as he had been able to keep together, and with Clinchant, who was a general officer in Mr. de Nemours's army.

This was the firſt falſe ſtep that they took; for if that army had marched without reſting, and if Mr. de Beaufort had joined it with the Duke's forces, as he did ſince, they might have paſſed the Loire without any difficulty, and had very much embarraſſed the King's march. Every thing contributed to this delay: the uncertainty of the Duke, who could not determine himſelf upon doing even what had been moſt firmly reſolved upon; Mr. de Beaufort's love for Madam de Montbazon, which detained him at Paris; the childiſhneſs of Mr. de Nemours, who was glad to ſhew to Madam de Châtillon his general's ſtaff; and the falſe policy of Chavigny, who thought that he would be much more maſter of the Duke by dazzling his eyes with the ſight of ſo many regimental ſcarfs all different one from another. This was what he told Croiſſi, who was imprudent enough to impart it to me, though he was much more in the Prince's intereſt than in mine. I did not keep the thing hid

from the Duke, who was very much piqued at it. I took that time to entreat him to suffer that I should convince these gentlemen in his presence, that it was fooliſh in them to pretend to dazzle any one's eyes, though weaker beyond compariſon in every reſpect than thoſe of his Royal Highneſs. As he was about to make me explain myſelf, he was informed that Meſſieurs de Beaufort and de Nemours were waiting for him in his chamber. I went thither along with him, though againſt my rule, becauſe I had not yet the cap; and the converſation being become public (for there was company even to a crowd) I put my hat on as ſoon as he had his on his head. His Royal Highneſs obſerved it, by reaſon both of what I had juſt then ſaid to him, and becauſe I had always refuſed to do it, though he never failed to command it me. He was very glad of it, and he affected to keep up the converſation for a full hour, after which he took me in private, and brought me back into the gallery. You may well think that he was angry, for I believe there were in his chamber above fifty red ſcarfs, beſides the Iſabella ones. His anger laſted all that evening, for he told me the next day, that Goulas, his ſecretary, and an intimate friend of Chavigny's, being come to tell him, with great eagerneſs, that all the foreign officers grew mighty jealous of the long converſations that I had with him, he had rebuked him very ſharply; ſaying to him, 'Go to the 'devil, you and your foreign officers; if they were 'as good Frondeurs as the Cardinal de Retz, they 'would be at their poſts, and would not ſpend their 'time in the taverns of Paris.' They at laſt rejoined the army, more certainly by my inſtances, than by thoſe of Chavigny, who believed all along that I made it my buſineſs to retard them. For the Duke ſoon took care to repair what he had let ſlip unawares whilſt he was angry; becauſe it was convenient for him (or at leaſt he fancied ſo) to make uſe of me ſometimes as a pretence to what he did, and almoſt always to what he did not. I ſhall tell you which

way

way the troops took their march, after I have given you an account of what happened at Orleans at this time.

It was natural that this important city ſhould be much in the dependance of the Duke, being his apennage, and the Duke having made it his moſt ordinary place of reſidence; the Marquis de Sourdis beſides (who was governor of it) being in his intereſt. The Duke had however taken care to ſend thither the Count de Fieſque, to oppoſe the efforts of Mr. le Gras, maſter of requeſts, who did his beſt to perſuade the inhabitants to open the city gates to the King, to whom that place had certainly been very uſeful. Meſſieurs de Beaufort and de Nemours, who ſaw beſt what conſequence it was of, becauſe having taken their march that way, they were nearer at hand to make their obſervations, wrote word to the Duke that there was in the town a powerful faction for the Court, which made his preſence there extremely neceſſary. But you may well judge that it was ſtill much more neceſſary at Paris. The Duke therefore choſe, without any heſitation, to ſtay there, which he was adviſed to do by every one without exception. * Mademoiſelle offered to go herſelf to Orleans, which the Duke conſented to, but very unwillingly, both becauſe he thought it againſt decency, but much more becauſe he relied but little upon her conduct. I remember, that the day that Princeſs took leave of her father, he ſaid to me: 'This knight-errantry would 'be very ridiculous, if the good ſenſe of Madam de 'Fieſque, and of Madam de Fratenac, were not a 'ſupport to it.' Theſe two ladies went with the Princeſs, and with them Mr. de Rohan, and Meſſieurs de Croiſſi and de Bermont, counſellors of the parliament of Paris. Patru ſaid a little too freely, that as the walls of Jericho fell at the ſound of trumpets, ſo would the gates of Orleans open themſelves at the noiſe of fiddles. This was a rub upon Mr. de Rohan,

* The Duke of Orleans's daughter.

who was said to be a little too fond of them. However all this ridicule succeeded at last by the courage of Mademoiselle, which certainly was very great; for though the King was very near with some troops, and that Mr. Molé, Lord-keeper and first President, was at the gate, requiring entrance in the King's name, that Princess passed the river in a small boat; she obliged the watermen, who are always in great number upon the key, to break open a postern gate, that had stood walled up for a long time; and she marched with the concourse and the acclamations of people directly to the town-house, where the magistrates were assembled to deliberate whether they should let the Lord-keeper in. You may imagine that the Princess had the casting vote. Messieurs de Beaufort and de Nemours came immediately to her, and they resolved jointly with her to seize either upon Loris or Gien, which are but small towns, but which have bridges over the river Loire. That of Gien was vigorously attacked by Mr. de Beaufort, but was still more vigorously defended by Mr. de Turenne, who had just taken upon him the command of the King's army, having however the Mareschal d'Hocquincourt for partner. The Duke's army was obliged to quit this enterprize, having lost in it Baron de Sirot, a gentleman of reputation, and who served there as lieutenant-general. That gentleman boasted, and I believe it was true, that he had exchanged pistol-shots both with the great Gustavus King of Sweden, and with the brave Christian King of Denmark *.

Mr. de Nemours, who had a natural aversion and contempt for Mr. de Beaufort, though they were brothers-in-law, complained of his conduct to Mademoiselle, as if he had been the cause that the design upon Gien had not succeeded. They had some words

* See Mr. le Vassor's History of Lewis XIII. who says, that both the Kings were so taken with his bravery, that they desired to be acquainted with a gentleman whose courage and virtue they so much esteemed.

upon

upon that account in Mademoiſelle's anti-chamber. Mr. de Beaufort, who pretended, upon very ſlight grounds, at leaſt as it was ſaid at that time, that the other had given him the lie; returned Mr. de Nemours a box on the ear, as Mr. de Nemours pretended: for I have heard perſons that were preſent ſay, that he received it only in imagination. It was at leaſt as doubtful as thoſe which Mr. Paſcal ridicules in his letters againſt the Jeſuits. Mademoiſelle made up the matter, at leaſt outwardly; and after a great conteſt, which had been no ſmall occaſion of beginning the quarrel, it was reſolved that they ſhould go to Montargis, an important poſt in the preſent conjuncture, becauſe that by that means the army of the Princes, being betwixt Paris and the King, would be in a condition to countenance every thing. Mr. de Nemours, who paſſionately wiſhed to ſuccour Mouron, was of opinion, that it would be better to paſs the Loire at Blois, that they might be behind the King's army, to whom the fear of abandoning too much the provinces beyond the Loire to the diſcretion of the army of the Princes, would make it ſtill more difficult to reſolve upon advancing towards Paris, than it would be by the obſtacle that Montargis would be to it. The other opinion was carried in the council of war, both by number and by the authority of Mademoiſelle; and I have heard gentlemen that underſtood theſe matters ſay, that the reaſon of the thing ought likewiſe to have carried it, becauſe it would have been ridiculous to abandon all the places near Paris to the King's forces, whoſe only deſign, as it was clearly perceived, was to approach that capital, either to win it, or to frighten it. Chavigny ſpoke to the Duke very much in favour of the opinion that carried it, as the Dutcheſs, who was preſent, told me the next day; and I cannot comprehend what ground people could have to imagine that there was any conteſt about it at the Duke's palace. His Royal Highneſs, in that caſe, had not failed to extol to me his reſiſting the advice of thoſe that were attached to the Prince. But

every one was of the like opinion; and Goulas railed openly at the conduct of Mr. de Nemours, who will, said he, lose Paris for the saving of Mouron. I return to the Prince of Condé's journey to Paris.

I have already told you that those who managed his interests with the Duke, pressed his coming back to that place, and that their instances were strongly supported by the necessity he thought there was of helping, or rather repairing, by his presence, the harm which the incapacity and misunderstanding of Messieurs de Beaufort and de Nemours did, in lessening the weight which the valour and experience of the troops under their command ought to have given their party. The Prince having almost the whole kingdom to cross, found it necessary to keep his march extremely secret. He only took along with him Messieurs de la Rochefoucaut, de Marsillac, de Levi, Guitaut, Chavagnac, Gourville, and another whose name I don't remember. He passed with an extreme diligence through the provinces of Perigord, Limousin, Auvergne, and Bourbonnois. He narrowly escaped being taken near Châtillon sur Loire, by St. Maure, a pensionary of the Cardinal's, who followed him with 200 horse, upon advice given to the Court by somebody who knew Guitaut. The Prince met in the forest of Orleans with some officers of his troops who were in garrison at Loris, and he was received by the whole army with all the joy you may imagine. He dispatched Gourville to the Duke to give him an account of his journey, and to assure him that he would be with him in three days time. The instances of the whole army, which was fatigued to the last degree by the ignorance of the Generals, detained him longer. He was besides naturally inclined to stay at places where it was likely that some great action might offer; and I am going to speak of one of the bravest he ever performed.

It appeared by the first step that the Prince took, as soon as he had joined the army, that the opinion of Mr. de Nemours, of which I have spoken, was not right;

right; for the Prince marched directly to Montargis, which he took without striking a blow. Maudreville, who had thrown himself into the castle, with eight or ten gentlemen and 200 foot, surrendered immediately. The Prince put a garrison into it, and without losing one moment of time, he marched directly to the enemies, who were quartered separately. The King was at Gien; Mr. de Turenne had his general quarters at Briare, and those of Mr. d'Hocquincourt were at Bleneau.

The Prince being informed that the forces of this last were dispersed in the neighbouring villages, he advanced towards Chateau-Renaut, and fell like lightning in the midst of these dispersed troops. He cut in pieces all the horse that were there, belonging to the regiments of Maine, of Roque-epine, of Beaujeu, of Bourlamont, and of Moret, who were endeavouring to get to the dragoons quarters, as they were ordered to do, but too late. The Prince broke even through the dragoons quarter, sword in hand, whilst Tavannes was doing the like through the Croats * quarter. He pursued those that fled as far as Bleneau, where he met with the Mareschal d'Hocquincourt, who had 700 horse in good order, with whom he vigorously charged the Prince's men, who, during the obscurity of the night, having engaged too far, were dispersed, and even against their General's command were busy in pillaging a village. The Prince rallied them, and drew them up in battalia in the enemy's sight, though they were much stronger than he, and though he was obliged, by the great resistance they made at his first charging of them, to look to himself, having had a horse killed under him. His second charge was so vigorous, that he put them entirely to rout, insomuch that it was not in Mr. d'Hocquincourt's power to rally them. Mr. de Nemours was very much wounded on this occasion, wherein Messieurs de Beaufort, de la Rochefoucaut,

* Or Croatians.

and

and de Tavannes, ſignalized themſelves. Mr. de Turenne, who had ſent notice in the morning to Mr. d'Hocquincourt, that his troops were too much diſperſed, and too much expoſed, and that the Prince was coming to him; Mr. de Turenne, I ſay, came out of Briare, and drew up his forces in battalia, near a village, named, I think, Oucoi. He put 50 horſe into a wood that ſtood betwixt him and the enemy, and through which they could not paſs without defiling. He made theſe horſe to retire immediately, with a deſign thereby to oblige the Prince to engage himſelf in that defile, by making him believe that the retreat was occaſioned by their fright. This ſtratagem ſucceeded, for the Prince threw three or four hundred horſe into the wood, who at their coming out of it were overthrown by Mr. de Turenne; and they could hardly have eſcaped, if the Prince had not ordered ſome foot to advance, which ſtopped thoſe that were purſuing them. Mr. de Turenne poſted himſelf on a riſing ground behind the wood; he placed his artillery there, which killed many men in the army of the Princes, and, among others, Maré, brother to the Mareſchal de Grancey, who belonged to the Duke, and who ſerved as lieutenant-general in his troops. The two armies remained the whole day in ſight of each other, and towards evening they both retired to their camps. It is a difficult matter to judge who got moſt honour that day, whether the Prince or Mr. de Turenne. It may be ſaid in general, that they both did what the two beſt Generals in the world could have done. Mr. de Turenne ſaved the Court, which had ordered, upon the news of Mr. d'Hocquincourt's defeat, the baggage to be packed up, without knowing preciſely where they could find a retreat; and Mr. de Senneterre has ſince told me ſeveral times, that it was the only occaſion on which he had ſeen the Queen dejected and afflicted. It is certain, that if Mr. de Turenne, by his great capacity, had not maintained matters, and that if his army had had the fate of that of Mr. d'Hocquincourt,

there had not been a town but would have ſhut their gates againſt the Court. It was what the Queen herſelf ſaid that day, with tears in her eyes, to Mr. de Senneterre.

The advantage which the Prince got over the Mareſchal d'Hocquincourt was not near of ſo great uſe to his party, becauſe it was not puſhed on afterwards, ſo far as the Prince himſelf would have probably done had he ſtaid with his army. You will ſee what paſſed there in his abſence, after I have given you an account of the firſt effect which the Prince's coming to Paris produced, and of ſome particulars relating to me.

You have already ſeen that the Prince had ſent Gourville to the Duke, as ſoon as he had joined his army, to inform him that he would be at Paris in three days time. This news was a thunderbolt to him. He ſent immediately for me, and at my coming he cried out, 'You had foretold it; what new 'trouble on our hands! what a misfortune! We are 'now worſe than ever.' I tried, but in vain, to put him in heart again; and all I could gain of him was, that he would ſet a good face upon the matter, and keep his ſentiments hid from every one, as he had done from Gourville. He performed this very exactly, for at his coming out of the Dutcheſs's cloſet, he appeared with a moſt gay countenance, and publiſhed the news of the Prince's coming, with great demonſtrations of joy, though a quarter of an hour after he ordered me to omit nothing to ſpoil the ſport, that is, to bring, if poſſible, matters to a point, that might oblige the Prince to make but a ſhort ſtay at Paris. I begged of his Royal Highneſs not to charge me with this commiſſion, 'which (ſaid I to him) will not be 'for your ſervice, for theſe two reaſons: the firſt, 'becauſe I cannot execute it without giving the Car-'dinal an advantage which will prove inconvenient 'to you; and the ſecond, becauſe you will never be 'able to ſtand it out, conſidering the temper which 'it has pleaſed God to form you of.' This way of

ſpeaking

ſpeaking to a ſon of France, will, without doubt, appear to you a want of reſpect; but I deſire that you would obſerve, that St. Remi, lieutenant of his guards, had uſed the ſame expreſſion to him two or three days before, upon a trifling ſubject; that the Duke had been pleaſed with it, and that he repeated it, ſpeaking of himſelf on all occaſions. The truth is, that it was not improper on this conjuncture, as you will preſently ſee. Our conteſt upon this was pretty great, and I reſiſted for a long while; but I was obliged to ſubmit and obey. I had more time to go about this piece of work than I expected; for the Prince, whom the Duke had been as far as Juviſy to meet, upon the firſt of April, thinking he would come that day to Paris, arrived there but on the 11th. By that means I had leiſure enough to prevail with Mr. le Fêvre, Prevoſt-des-Marchands, who was indebted to me for that poſt, and who was my particular friend. He ſpoke about it to the Mareſchal de l'Hôpital, Governor of Paris, who being well affected to the Court, was eaſily perſuaded. They called for an aſſembly at the town-houſe, in which it was reſolved, that the Governor, with the Prevoſt-des-Marchands, ſhould wait on his Royal Highneſs, to tell him, that it appeared to the aſſembly that it was againſt order to admit the Prince into the city, before he had purged himſelf in reſpect to the King's declaration againſt him, which had been verified in the parliament.

The Duke, who was in a tranſport of joy at this ſpeech, anſwered, That the Prince came only to confer with him about ſome private affairs, and would not ſtay above twenty-four hours at Paris. As ſoon as the deputies were gone, 'You are (ſaid he to me) 'a gallant man: "havete fatto polito:" how will 'Chavigny be ſurprized at this!' To this I anſwered immediately, 'Sir, I never ſerved you ſo ill in my 'life: remember what I tell you.' Mr. de Chavigny, who was told at the ſame time both of the deputies ſpeech and the Duke's anſwer, reprimanded his Royal Highneſs

Highneſs for it, uſing of bravadoes, which he carried to inſolence, and even to rage. He declared to the Duke, that the Prince was in a condition to ſtay at Paris as long as he pleaſed, without being obliged to aſk any body's leave. By means of Pêche, one famous for being a ſeditious man, he formed a troop of 100 or 120 ſcoundrels upon the Pont-neuf, who had like to have pillaged the houſe of Mr. du Pleſſis-Guenegaut; and he frightened the Duke to a degree, that he obliged him to make a public reprimand, both to the Mareſchal de l'Hôpital and to the Prevoſt-des-Marchands, for having regiſtered at the town-houſe the Duke's anſwer, which he affirmed to have been given them only in private, and as a ſecret. As I was about inſinuating to the Duke that I was in the right in what I had ſaid to him, he interrupted me haſtily, and ſaid, 'Tis wrong to judge of things by 'the event. I was yeſterday in the right; you are 'in the right to-day: what muſt be done with theſe 'ſort of men?' He ought to have added, 'and with 'me?' which I took the liberty to do myſelf. For when I found, that notwithſtanding all the experiments he had made, he continued in the ſame conduct, which, ſpeaking to me, he had condemned a thouſand times, ſince the Prince had left Paris to go into Guienne, I thought that I had reaſon enough to include him among the ſort of men of whom he complained. I therefore reſolved to meddle as little as poſſible with his affairs; which conduct, it is true, would be wrong with ſome ſort of men, in times that are very full of trouble, but which I thought neceſſary for me to follow, conſidering the Duke's temper, which I could not redreſs; and conſidering likewiſe the ſtate I was in at that preſent conjuncture, which I muſt beg leave to explain to you a little more at large.

I am obliged to tell you for the ſake of truth, that as ſoon as I was made a Cardinal, I began to feel the inconveniencies of that dignity, becauſe I remembered what I had ſo often reflected on, of my having been too much tranſported at the ſplendor of the poſt of Coadjutor.

Coadjutor. One of the causes of the abuse which men commonly make of their dignities, is their being dazzled with them at their first obtaining them, which occasions the first errors into which they fall, and which are always the most dangerous for a great many reasons. The statelineſs which I had affected as soon as I was made Coadjutor had a good success, because my uncle's meanness had made it necessary. But I clearly perceived, that had it not been for that consideration, and for some other seasonings which the disposition of the times rather than my own address, gave me room to accompany it with, that statelineſs would not have been an effect of good sense, or at least would not have been attributed to it. The time I had had to reflect on this, obliged me to give a particular attention to my present dignity, which is apt enough to turn the heads of most of those that are honoured with it. The most visible, and in my opinion the most palpable illusion it subjects new-created Cardinals to, is the pretension of preceding the Princes of the Blood, who may at every instant become our masters, and who in the mean while remain almost always so, in respect to our neareſt relations, by the consideration they are in with them. I preserve a gratitude for the Cardinals of my family, who have from my childhood taught me this lesson by their example; and I met with a pretty favourable opportunity of practising it on the very day that I received the news of my promotion. Chateau-Briant, whose name you have already met with in these Memoirs, said to me in the presence of a great many gentlemen that were in my chamber: 'Now, Sir, we 'shall cease to salute first.' This he said, because that though I was upon very ill terms with the Prince of Condé, and that I commonly went well accompanied, I saluted him, as you may well judge, wherever I met him, with all the respect due to him from so many considerations. I answered Chateau-Briant, 'Pardon me, Sir, we shall always salute first, and 'lower than ever. God forbid that the red hat should

'turn

'turn my head to that point, as to diſpute the prece-
'dency with the Princes of the Blood. It is enough
'for a gentleman to have the honour to ſtand by their
'ſide.' Theſe words, which in my opinion preſerved afterwards in France the rank of Cardinals, by the condeſcenſion of the Prince of Condé, and the friendſhip he had afterwards for me; theſe words, I ſay, produced a good effect, by leſſening the envy which was conceived againſt me, which is the greateſt of all ſecrets.

To attain that end, I made ſtill uſe of another means. Cardinal Richlieu and Cardinal Mazarin, who had incorporated the dignity of Miniſter into that of Cardinal, had annexed to this laſt a ſort of ſtatelineſs which can become neither of theſe dignities, but when they are joined together. It would have been difficult however, in the poſt I had at Paris, beſides the Cardinalſhip, not to have allowed me the ſame ſtatelineſs. But I parted with ſome of it of my own accord, and in a manner which made it impoſſible to attribute it to any thing but my own moderation, having declared openly that I would receive in publick no other honours than thoſe which had been rendered to Cardinals of my family. And as all depends upon right management, I ordered my matters ſo, that I gave the upper-hand to nobody without exception. I waited on the Mareſchals of France, the Dukes and Peers, the Chancellor, the foreign Princes, the illegitimate Princes, who came to ſee me, no further than to the top of the ſtairs, and every body was well pleaſed.

The third means which I thought upon, was to omit nothing which decency could permit me, to recall all thoſe to my ſervice, who had parted from me, by reaſon of the different parties. It was impoſſible but that there muſt be a good number of them, becauſe my fortune had been ſo variable and in ſuch agitation, that part of thoſe that were attached to me, were afraid at certain times to find themſelves involved in it, and that others had oppoſed my intereſts on ſome occaſions;

to-

to whom must be added those that had conceived hopes of making their court at my cost. I should tire you, if I entered into particulars, and it is enough for me to tell you, that Mr. de Berci came to my house at midnight; that I saw Mr. de Novion at Father Dom. Carouge's, a Carthusian; that I saw the President le Coigneux at the convent of the Celestins. Every one was glad to reconcile himself to me, when to the dignity of Coadjutor they saw one added of a much superior kind. As for me, I was glad to be reconciled with every one, at a time when my advances could only be attributed to my generosity. I found a benefit by it; and the gratitude of some to whom I had saved the shame of the first advances, has recompenced me more than enough, of the ingratitude of some others. I maintain that policy requires as much as civility, of those that are in the highest posts, to save that sort of shame to those that are under them, and to offer them their hand, when they dare not present theirs.

The conduct which I followed with application upon these several heads, agreed in more than one manner with the resolution I had taken to enjoy as much as possible the quiet which the great dignities that fortune had assembled in my person might naturally enough, in my opinion, have procured me.

I have already told you that the incorrigibility (if I may use that word) of the Duke had discouraged me to such a degree, that I could no longer so much as imagine that he could in the least be relied upon. The incident that follows will convince you that I must have been very blind if I had been capable of reckoning upon the Queen. You may remember what I have said towards the end of my second volume, of an imprudence of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, in respect to a part which I acted with the Queen, in concert with Madam de Chevreuse. She imparted it to her daughter, against my advice, and the daughter understood the jest at first extremely well; I even remember that she took pleasure in making me repeat the comedy of the Switzer, for so she used to call the Queen. It hap-

happened one evening, that the company being very numerous at the Hôtel de Chevreuſe, moſt of them fell a laughing, and to tell you the truth, I can give you no reaſon why I did not laugh with the reſt. Mademoiſelle de Chevreuſe, who was the moſt capricious perſon in the world, took notice of it, and ſaid to me, that ſhe did not wonder at it, after what ſhe had obſerved ſome time ſince, which was, as ſhe fancied, that I was grown much colder in reſpect to her, and that I had even a correſpondence with the Court, which I kept hid from her. I fancied at firſt that ſhe was in jeſt, there being not the leaſt ſhadow of probability in what ſhe ſaid, and I did not diſcover that ſhe was in earneſt, till ſhe had told me that ſhe was in no manner ignorant of the errand upon which a certain footman of the Queen's came every day to me. It is true, that there was ſuch a footman that had for ſome time been pretty often at my houſe, but it is likewiſe true, that he had no errand for me, and that he came only to ſee one of my ſervants who was related to him. I cannot tell by what chance ſhe became acquainted with it, and much leſs what could oblige her to draw from it the conſequences ſhe did. But ſhe did draw them, and could not forbear her murmurings and threatnings. She ſaid in the preſence of Seguien, who had been valet-de-chambre to her mother, and who had ſome employment either with the King or the Queen-Mother, that I had confeſſed a thouſand times, that it was impoſſible for me to conceive how any body could be in love with that Switzer. In ſhort, ſhe managed her matters ſo, that it came to the Queen's ear that I had called her Majeſty Switzer, ſpeaking to Mademoiſelle de Chevreuſe. I was informed that ſhe was told of it three or four days before the Prince's coming to Paris, and it is what ſhe has never forgiven me, as will appear by the ſequel. You will eaſily imagine that this circumſtance, which ſhewed that there was no great room for me to expect good uſage at Court, was no hindrance to the reſolution I had taken to live for the future more retired. My place of retreat had

nothing

nothing very dreadful; and I had beſides the Arch-Epiſcopal Mitre, and the Cardinal's Hat, to defend me againſt the bad weather. I was full of the advantages of this quiet life, which if I did not enjoy, I can aſſure you that it was by no fault of mine, but only becauſe fortune would not have it ſo. I return to my narration.

The Prince arrived at Paris on the 11th of April, and the Duke went to meet him a league out of town. Upon the 12th, they went together to the parliament. As ſoon as they were entered into the Grand Chamber, the Duke told the company, that he had brought the Prince his couſin to aſſure them, that he had not, nor ſhould ever have, any other intent than that of ſerving the King and the State; that he would always follow the company's advice; and that he offered to lay down his arms, as ſoon as the arreſts given out againſt Mazarin were executed. The Prince ſpoke himſelf afterwards to the ſame purpoſe, and he even required that the publick declaration which he made of it ſhould be inſerted in their regiſters.

The Preſident le Bailleul made anſwer: That the company took it always as an honour to ſee him there; but that they could not diſſemble the great ſorrow they had of ſeeing him with his hands ſtained with the blood of the King's men, who had been killed at Bleneau. A noiſe aroſe at that word from thoſe of the inqueſts, which was like, by its impetuoſity, to have blown down the poor Preſident de Bailleul; fifty or ſixty voices were heard at once diſowning of what he ſaid; and I believe that they had been followed by a great many more, if the Preſident de Neſmond had not ſtopped and appeaſed the noiſe, by the report he made of the remonſtrances which he, together with the other deputies of the company, had carried in writing to the King, who was at Sully. The remonſtrances were very ſtrong and vigorous againſt the perſon and the conduct of the Cardinal. The King cauſed the Lord-Keeper to anſwer the Deputies, that he would conſider of them after the company had ſent him their informations; his Majeſty being willing to give a judg-

judgment upon them himself. The President de Nesmond having made his report, the King's council were called in, who presented to the company a declaration, and a Lettre-de-cachet, signifying that order to the parliament, and likewise that of regiſtring without delay the declaration whereby that of the 6th of September, and the arrests given against the Cardinal were superseded. Upon this the King's council being called again, they concluded, after a sharp invective against the Cardinal, that new remonstrances should be made to represent to the King the impossibility there was for the company to regiſter this declaration, which against all manner of rules and forms submitted to a new judiciary proceeding, susceptible of a thousand objections, the most authentick declaration in the world, and that bore the greatest marks of the royal authority, and which consequently could not be revoked but by another declaration as authentick, and bearing the same characters. They added, that the new Deputies ought to complain to his Majesty that the first Deputies were refused to have their remonstrances read in his presence; that they ought to insist upon this, as well as upon the reasons for not sending the informations which the Court required; and that all the transactions of that day in the parliament should be regiſtred, a copy of which should be sent to the Lord-Keeper. These were Mr. Talon's conclusions, which he spoke with wonderful vigour and eloquence. After this the company began their deliberation, which for want of time was put off to the 13th. The arrest followed without any contest, conformably to the conclusions, with these additions however; that the declaration which the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé had made, should be carried to the King by the Deputies; that a copy of the remonstrances, and of what had been regiſtered, should be sent to all the Sovereign Courts in Paris, and to all the parliaments of the kingdom, to invite them to send likewise Deputies to the King from their several bodies; that a General Assembly should incessantly be held at the Town-house, where

where the Duke and the Prince ſhould be invited to come and to make there the ſame declaration that they had done in the parliament; and that in the mean while the King's declaration againſt Cardinal Mazarin, and all the arreſts given againſt him, ſhould be executed.

The Aſſemblies of the Chambers, of the 15th, 17th, and 18th, were almoſt wholly employed in diſcuſſing the difficulties which offered about the regulating that General Aſſembly at the Town-houſe: For example; Whether the Duke and the Prince ſhould be preſent at the deliberation there, or whether they ſhould withdraw after having made their declarations? Whether the parliament had the power to order that aſſembly, or whether they ought only to invite the Prevoſt-des-Marchands, with the other town-officers, and the chiefeſt citizens of every ward to aſſemble.

That aſſembly was held upon the 19th in the afternoon, at which ſixteen deputies of the parliament were preſent. The Duke and the Prince made there their declarations in the like form as thoſe they had made in the parliament; and after they were withdrawn, and that the King's attorney for the city had taken his concluſions, which were, that moſt humble remonſtrances ſhould be made to the King, both by word of mouth and in writing, againſt Cardinal Mazarin; Mr. Aubry, Preſident in the Chamber of Accounts, and the eldeſt City Counſellor, roſe up and ſaid, That it was too late to begin the deliberation, and that it was neceſſary to put off the aſſembly to the next day. He was in the right all manner of ways, for the clock had ſtruck ſeven, and he held intelligence with the Court.

The Duke and the Prince went to the parliament upon the 20th, and the Duke told the company that he was certainly informed that the Mareſchal de l'Hopital, Governor of Paris, and the Prevoſt-des-Marchands, had received a Lettre-de-cachet, forbidding them to continue the aſſembly; that that letter was

inſignificant, being the work of Mazarin; and that he deſired the company to ſend immediately for the Prevoſt-des-Marchands and the echevins, and to injoin them to have no manner of regard to it. There was no need of ſending, for they came of themſelves to acquaint the company with this Lettre-de-Cachet, and likewiſe that they had call'd an aſſembly of the city common-council, to adviſe about what was beſt to be done. They were deſired to withdraw that the company might deliberate, and being again called in, they were told that the company did not diſapprove of the aſſembly which they had called, becauſe it was according to order and to cuſtom; but that the company gave them notice, that a general aſſembly which was called upon ſuch important matters, ought not, nor could not be ſtopped by a ſingle Lettre-de-Cachet. The company after this had their letter to all the parliaments of the kingdom, read. It was ſhort, but deciſive and preſſing. That ſame day in the afternoon the general aſſembly was held at the town-houſe, as the common-council had ordered it in the morning. The preſident Aubry's advice was conformable to the city attorney's concluſions. An apothecary, named Deſnots, who ſpoke very well, added, That they ought to write to all the towns in France, that were either the ſeats of parliaments, or of biſhops, or of preſidial courts; inviting them to hold aſſemblies like unto theirs, and to make the like remonſtrances againſt the Cardinal. That opinion, which had a majority of above ſeven voices that day, had the minority at the next aſſembly, which was held upon the 22d. Some having ſaid in that aſſembly, That that union of all the towns was a kind of league againſt the King: this brought the majority to the advice of the preſident Aubry, which was only for making remonſtrances to the King about the removal of Cardinal Mazarin, and his Majeſty's return to Paris. That ſame day the Duke and the Prince went to the chamber of accounts, where they cauſed the like declarations to thoſe they had made

at the parliament and at the town-houſe to be regiſtred. That chamber reſolved likewiſe upon ſending remonſtrances againſt the Cardinal.

Upon the 23d, the Duke told the parliament, That Mazarin's army having poſſeſſed themſelves, under pretence of the King's approach, of Melun and of Corbeil, againſt the promiſe made by the Mareſchal de l'Hopital, that the troops ſhould keep at twelve leagues diſtance from Paris, he was obliged to make his army advance likewiſe. After this he went with the Prince to the court of aids, where matters were carried on as in other places.

Though I can anſwer for the truth of the facts which I have mentioned, in reſpect to the aſſemblies that were held at that time, that is, from the 1ſt of March to the 23d of April, becauſe there is not one but what I have verified myſelf with the regiſters of the parliament, or of the town-houſe, I have not thought that the truth of hiſtory required that I ſhould inſiſt upon them with the ſame attention or reflection, as I have done in relation to the aſſemblies of the chambers, where I had been preſent in perſon. The difference between a narration writ upon memoirs, though never ſo good, and a narration of facts which one has one's ſelf ſeen, is as great as between a picture drawn upon hear-ſays, and one drawn from the life. All that I could meet with in theſe regiſters can be at moſt but the body of the thing, for as to the ſpirit of the deliberations, it is impoſſible to diſcover it by the bare reading of them. It is often much better diſcerned, by a look, a geſture, an air, ſometimes even almoſt imperceptible; than by the ſubſtance of things that appear the moſt important, which, however, is the only matter of which the regiſters ought to give us an account. I deſire that you would take this obſervation, as a mark of the exactneſs I have, and always will have, to be wanting in nothing that may ſerve to the explanation of a ſubject upon which you have commanded me to write. The account which I am going to give you,

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of what I was obſerving at that time of the ſecret ſprings which gave motion to theſe ſeveral machines, is a thing which I am better able to perform, and which I hope I ſhall do pretty exactly.

It is impoſſible that after having ſeen the unanimous conſent of all theſe bodies, conſpiring together the ruin of Cardinal Mazarin, you ſhould not be perſuaded that he is upon the very brink of the precipice, and that nothing leſs than a miracle can ſave him. The Duke was as much perſuaded of it as you can be, at his coming from the town-houſe, and he bantered me, in the preſence of the Mareſchal d'Eſtampes and of the Viſcount d'Autel, on the opinion I all along had, that the parliament and the city would fail them. I confeſs now, as I confeſſed to him at that time, that I miſtook in that point, and that I was ſurpriſed beyond what you can imagine, at the ſtep that the parliament had taken. Not but that the Court contributed to it as much as lay in its power; and the imprudence of the Cardinal, which precipitated the company into it againſt their will, was certainly more than ſufficient to excuſe, or at leaſt diminiſh the ſhame which I might have, to have formed ſuch a wrong judgment. It came into his head to command the parliament, in the King's name, to revoke and annull, properly ſpeaking, all that that company had done againſt him, juſt at the inſtant that the Prince arrived at Paris; and the man in the world that was the leaſt aſhamed of making uſe of illuſions, and who loved them beſt when they were unneceſſary, affected to reject them on an occaſion in which I believe that a man of the greateſt probity might have uſed them without ſcruple.

It is certain that nothing was in itſelf more odious than the Prince's coming to the parliament, four days after having cut in pieces a good part of the King's army; and I am convinced that if the Court had not been over-haſty, and had forbore doing any thing at that inſtant, all the ſeveral bodies, who in truth began to be weary of the civil war, had ſoon given

ſigns of their wearineſs at the ſight of the Prince, who came only to engage them the more openly into it. That conduct in the Court had been wiſe, but they took one quite oppoſite to it, which did not fail to produce a quite contrary effect; for by exaſperating theſe bodies, they reconciled them in an inſtant to the Prince. He ceaſed from that moment to be the man that had routed the King's troops, and was now only looked upon as one that came to Paris to oppoſe Mazarin's return. Theſe repreſentations of things, ſo different from one another, entered even into the head of thoſe who would have ſworn that they could not confound them. In a time of ſuch a general prevention, none but philoſophers can diſtinguiſh theſe ſorts of ideas right. But ſuch men are few in number, and are beſides counted for nothing, becauſe they are never ſeen with a halbert in their hands. The buſy men that make a noiſe with the people, and harangue in aſſemblies, are thoſe that confound theſe ideas. This is exactly what the imprudence of Mazarin brought about; and I remember that Bachaumont, whom you know, was telling me, the very day that the King's council brought to the parliament the laſt Lettre-de-Cachet which I have ſpoken of, that the Cardinal had found out the ſecret of making Boiſleve a Frondeur. In ſaying that he ſaid all, for Boiſleve was the arranteſt Mazarinian that ever was known.

You will without doubt believe that the Duke and the Prince did not fail of making uſe of this imprudence of the Court. Not at all; on the contrary, they let not one opportunity ſlip of neglecting and of ſpoiling all; and it is particularly on this occaſion that it muſt be owned that there are faults that are more than humane. You will not be ſurpriſed at thoſe into which the Duke fell, but I am ſtill wondering at thoſe of the Prince, who was, even at that time, naturally the man in the world the moſt incapable of committing them. His age, his birth, his courage, might have made him commit errors of another nature, which nobody would have wondered

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at. Thoſe which I am going to ſpecify, could proceed from none of theſe cauſes; much leſs could they proceed from oppoſite ones, to which it is impoſſible for any body to attribute them; from whence I conclude, that that ſort of blindneſs ſo often mentioned in Scripture, is even ſometimes eaſily perceived in men's actions. Was there any thing more natural to the Prince and more agreeable to his inclination, than to have puſhed on his victory and reaped from it the advantages which in all likelihood he might have done, if he had continued to command his own army in perſon? But inſtead of doing that, he abandons it to the conduct of two novices; and Mr. de Chavigny's unquietneſs, which recalls him to Paris upon a pretence, or a reaſon which had no reality at the bottom, overweighs with him what his warlike inclination and his true intereſt ought to have led him to, which was to ſtick to his troops. Was there any thing more neceſſary to the Duke and to the Prince, than the fixing, if I may ſay ſo, the happy moment in which the imprudence of the Cardinal had delivered into their hands the firſt parliament of the kingdom, which hitherto had heſitated about declaring itſelf, and had from time to time taken ſteps, not only weak, but dubious? Inſtead of making uſe of that inſtant, by binding the parliament entirely to them, they occaſioned a ſort of fright in that company, which never fails to diſguſt at firſt, and afterwards to create averſion; and they ſuffer them to take a ſort of liberty, which at firſt accuſtoms them to reſiſtance, and which infallibly produces it at laſt. I explain myſelf. As ſoon as the news came of the approach of the Prince, there were papers poſted up, and a great commotion upon the Pont-neuf. The Prince had no hand, nor could have any, in it, for he was not arrived at Paris when it happened, which was upon the ſecond of March; it is true, that it was done by order of the Duke, as I have mentioned before.

Upon the 25th of April, the office for the toll at the gate of St. Anthony was broke open and pillaged by

the mob; and Mr. de Cumont, counſellor of the parliament, who happened by chance to be there, coming to the Duke in his library, where I was with him, and acquainting him with it, received this anſwer: 'I am ſorry for it, but it is not amiſs that 'the people ſhould now and then awake. There is 'no body killed; the reſt is no great matter.'

Upon the 30th, the Prevoſt-des-Marchands, and other town-officers, who were coming back from the Duke's, were like to have been murdered at the end of the ſtreet de Tournon; and they complained the next day to the parliament that they had received no aſſiſtance, either from the Duke or the Prince, though they had ſent to require it.

Upon the 10th of May, the King's attorney for the city, and two echevins, had been killed in the parliament-hall, had it not been for Mr. de Beaufort, who had much ado to ſave them.

Upon the 13th, Mr. Quelin, counſellor of the parliament, and captain of his ward, having brought his company to the parliament for its uſual guard, was deſerted by all the citizens that compoſed it, who cried aloud that they were not aſſembled to guard Mazarinians; and upon the 24th Mr. Molé de St. Croix complained in full parliament, that upon the 20th he had like to have been cut in pieces by the ſeditious.

You muſt obſerve, that the mob, that alone committed all the diſorder, had nothing in their mouth but the name and the ſervice of the Princes, who never failed to diſown their doings the next day in the aſſembly of the chambers. That diſowning, which was commonly very ſincere, occaſioned the ſharp arreſts which the parliament put out on all occaſions againſt the ſeditious; but it did not prevent the company from believing, that thoſe that diſowned the ſedition, were themſelves the authors of it; and conſequently it abated nothing of the hatred which many counſellors conceived at it; and it accuſtomed the company to give out arreſts which were not, at leaſt

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as they thought, pleasing to the Princes. I am not ignorant, and I have said it elsewhere, that in weak and troublesome times that inconvenience is inseparable from popular power, and no body has more experienced it than I. But it must likewise be owned, that neither the Duke nor the Prince had all the necessary application for salving the appearances of things which they did not in effect command. The Duke, who was a weak man, was afraid of offending the people by repressing with too much violence the seditious; and the Prince, who was an intrepid man, did not reflect enough upon the ill and powerful effects that these commotions caused with those that feared him.

I must confess myself in this place, and own to you, that as my interest led me to weaken the credit of the Prince with the public, I made use for that effect of all the colours which the conduct of many persons of his party furnished me with in abundance. Never was any man less capable than the Prince himself of following that conduct; and nothing was ever easier than to charge him with the envy and the appearances of it. Pêche was every day in the Court of the Hôtel de Condé, and the commander de St. Simon was always waiting in the anti-chamber. You may judge that this last had played some very strange trick, since I made no scruple, notwithstanding his quality, to confound him with such a wretch as Pêche was. It is certain that I made a very advantageous use of these two names against the interest of the Prince, who was in truth no otherwise to blame in respect to them, than in not being attentive enough to their foolish doings. But without being wanting to the respect I owe his Highness, I dare say that he was less excusable in not opposing at first certain liberties, which some private members of all the courts of justice took, to resist him openly, and even to attack him personally. I know that the Duke of Orleans's natural softness, and the continual jealousy he entertained of the Prince, obliged this last to dissemble; but I

likewiſe know that he was himſelf too ſoft on theſe occaſions, and that if he had ſpoke and acted as he might have done when the Court offered him ſo fair an opportunity, he had brought Paris, and the Duke himſelf, to ſubmit to his will without uſing any violence. But my love for truth, which has obliged me to obſerve the fault, obliges me likewiſe to admire the principle from which it was derived. It is ſomething ſo fine in the man in the world of the moſt heroic courage to have fallen into faults out of an exceſs of goodneſs, that what he has not ſucceeded in, in reſpect to politicks, ought at leaſt to be admired and exalted by all honeſt people in reſpect to his morals. It is neceſſary to mention theſe particulars in few words.

Mr. Fouquet, attorney-general, and known for a Mazarinian, though he declaimed againſt the Cardinal in his turn, came into the grand chamber on the 17th of April, and in the preſence of the Duke of Orleans, and of the Prince, required of this laſt in the King's name, to give him a communication of the ſeveral aſſociations and treaties which he had made both without and within the kingdom; adding, that in caſe the Prince refuſed to do it, he demanded of the company an acknowledgment in writing of what he had requeſted, and of the oppoſition he made to the regiſtring the declaration of the Prince, about his laying down his arms as ſoon as Cardinal Mazarin ſhould be removed.

Mr. Menardeau declared publickly at the great aſſembly held at the town-houſe on the 20th of April, that his opinion was, that no remonſtrance ought to be made againſt the Cardinal, till the Princes had laid down their arms.

Upon the 22d of that ſame month of April, none of the preſidents of the chamber of accounts, except the firſt, met at their chamber, upon ſome pretence or other, which appeared at that time a very ſlight one: I do not remember the particulars. Mr. Perroches, an inſtant after, told the Princes to their face, that an arreſt ought to be iſſued out to forbid the

the levying any troops without the King's leave; and on the ſame day Mr. Amelot, firſt preſident of the court of aids, ſaid openly to the Prince, that he wondered to ſee at that place a Prince who after having ſo often triumphed over the enemies of the ſtate, had lately united with them. I mention theſe only as ſamples of what was then doing. There were every day others of the like nature, and there was none, however inconſiderable it might appear at that inſtant, that did not leave in the minds of the people ſome of theſe ſorts of impreſſions that are not felt for the preſent, but that are afterwards remembered. It is indeed prudent in the head of a party to bear with things which it is beſt for him to diſſemble; but too much eaſineſs in ſuch caſes, accuſtoms not only bodies, but private perſons, to reſiſtance. The Duke, led by his humour, and by the jealouſy which the Prince gave him at every inſtant, was unwilling to diſpleaſe any body. The Prince, who was in the faction only by force, did not ſtudy with application enough the principles of a ſcience which the Admiral de Coligny uſed to ſay, that no body could ever be maſter of. In this manner both the Duke and the Prince left not only to every one the liberty of delivering their opinion, but even ſuffered them to carry it to licentiouſneſs. They thought in all the occaſions which I have mentioned, that it was enough for them to have carried it by a majority of votes, as indeed it had, if the matters in queſtion had been ſuch as are decided by the ordinary courſe of the law. They did not diſtinguiſh timely enough the difference there is between ſpeaking freely, and ſpeaking licentiouſly; and they could not perſuade themſelves that a ſpeech pronounced with authority, with judgment, and in a deciſive manner; and made beſides at convenient times, and at ſuch critical moments as are now and then to be met with, might have produced that diſtinction, without the leaſt ſhadow of violence. By that means they all along ſuffered a certain air of a party oppoſite to theirs, to

remain at Paris, which never fails to grow to a body when it is supported by the royal authority. If it had pleased the Duke and the Prince to remove from Paris, any one of those that had been wanting to the respect due to them on the occasions I have spoken of, which they might have done in a civil manner, the companies of which they were members had not opposed it. The court of aids disowned publicly what Mr. Amelot, their first president, had said to the Prince; that company would have consented to his removal, if the Prince had required it; they had even thanked his Highness for it the first day, and the next day they had trembled. The secret in matters of this nature, is to keep people to their obedience, by apprehensions which they have themselves occasioned, and been instrumental to; these sorts of fears being commonly the most effectual, and always the least odious. You will see what the contrary conduct produced. But that which was of great help to induce them to a contrary conduct, was the itch of negotiating (so old St. Germain called it) which was, properly speaking, the epidemical disease of the Prince's party.

Mr. de Chavigny, who had been brought up to state affairs from his infancy, thought of nothing else but of getting into them again at what rate soever. Mr. de Rohan, whose only talent, properly speaking, was dancing, knew very well that the court was his only element. Goulas had no other will but that of Mr. de Chavigny. These gentlemen, you see, could not but be very susceptible of proposals and negotiations. The Prince was, by his inclination, his education, and his maxims, more averse to a civil war than any man I have ever known, without exception. And the Duke, whose predominant character was to be always full of fear and of distrust, was, of all men I have ever seen, the most capable of falling into false steps, by the dread he had of falling into them; being in that like unto hares. These dispositions made both the Duke and Prince no less susceptible of hearkening

kening to propoſals and negotiations. The quality in which Cardinal Mazarin excelled, was to go about the buſh; to give to underſtand; to feed with hopes; to caſt a miſt before one's eyes; to offer propoſals, and afterwards to entangle them. This ſort of genius was altogether fit for making uſe of the illuſions, which thoſe that have in hand the royal authority are never without, to engage people in negotiations. It was indeed what he did with every one; and theſe engagements were in part the cauſe of the conduct which I have explained, becauſe they amuſed people with the falſe hopes of an accommodation: but the worſt effect they produced, and which made the conduct I have ſpoken of altogether pernicious, was that they gave courage to thoſe in the city and the parliament who were well inclined to the Court, and that they took it away from thoſe who were ſincerely attached to the oppoſite party. I will explain theſe particulars, after I have given you an account of the motion of the armies of both ſides, and of that which I was obliged to make in this conjuncture, againſt both my inclination and reſolution.

The King, whoſe deſign, as I believe I have already told you, had all along been to approach Paris, left Gien immediately after the fight at Bleneau, and took his way by Auxerre, and by Melun, as far as to Corbeil; whilſt Meſſieurs de Turenne and d'Hocquincourt, who advanced with the army as far as Moret, were covering his march; and whilſt Meſſieurs de Beaufort and de Nemours, who had been obliged to quit Montargis for want of forage, were gone to encamp at Eſtampes. The Court coming afterwards as far as St. Germains, Mr. de Turenne poſted himſelf at Palaiſeau, which obliged the Princes to put garriſons into St. Clou, Port de Neuilly, and Charenton. You will eaſily judge that all theſe motions of troops were not made without a great deal of diſorder and pillaging, which laſt being looked upon at the parliament as no better than robbing on the highway, occaſioned every day ſome ſcene there, that had not been unworthy to

be inſerted in the ingenious ſatire written againſt the league. The ſcene in which I was acting my part at the Duke's palace, was of another nature. I went thither every day without fail; both becauſe the Duke would have it ſo, to let the Prince ſee that in caſe of need he might always reckon upon me; and becauſe it was likewiſe advantageous to me to let the publick ſee that what thoſe of the Prince's party were every day ſaying againſt me, about my holding intelligence with the Cardinal, was neither believed nor approved of by his Royal Highneſs. I kept always in the library, becauſe not having yet received my Cap from the King's hands, I did not appear in publick. At the time of my being there, the Prince was very often either in the gallery, or in the chamber. The Duke was continually going to him, and returning back to me, both becauſe he could never ſtay long in a place, and becauſe he ſometimes affected it for different ends. The common ſort of people, who love always to be myſterious, pretended that this continual motion, which was natural to him, was the effect of the different impreſſions which he received from the Prince and me. The Prince thought me the author of all that the Duke did not do for the good of the party: The little attention I had had for the offers made to Mr. de Briſſac, by the means of the Count de Fieſque, had newly exaſperated him. There happened even occaſions where the Duke thought it was convenient for him that the Prince's anger againſt me ſhould not diminiſh. The truce betwixt us in reſpect to writing was broke. Pamphlets began afreſh from his ſide, which I thought fit to anſwer; and it was on this occaſion, or at leaſt on ſome others that followed it, that I publiſhed ſome of thoſe pamphlets which I have mentioned in the ſecond volume of theſe Memoirs (though out of their place) that I might not be obliged to touch twice upon a matter too ſlight in itſelf to be ſpoken of ſo many times. I ſhall only tell you by the by, that the pamphlet entitled, 'The Diſappointments 'of Mr. de Chavigny, firſt Miniſter to the Prince,' which

which I dictated to Caumartin for a paſtime, touched that haughty and vain man to ſuch a degree, that he could not forbear ſhedding tears at it in the preſence of above a dozen perſons of quality that were in his chamber. One of them acquainting me with it the next day, I ſaid theſe words to him in the preſence of Meſſieurs de Laincourt and de Fontenay: 'I entreat 'you to tell Mr. de Chavigny, that being conſcious of 'the many good qualities that are in him, I would 'write his panegyrick ſtill more willingly, than I have 'done the pamphlet which he is ſo much touched at.'

I have already acquainted you with my reſolution of keeping quiet as much as poſſible, it being certain that I could gain nothing, and could loſe very much by ſtirring. I accompliſhed it in part, having hardly had any hand in any thing that was tranſacted at that time, becauſe I was fully convinced that there would ſeldom happen any occaſion of acting handſomely, and that even the few that might perhaps offer of acting wiſely, would be miſſed by reaſon of the different and complicated views which every body had in this circumſtance of time. I therefore reſted myſelf upon my two great dignities, as being the ſureſt foundation of my fortune; and I remember that the Preſident de Bellievre telling me one day that I ſhould beſtir myſelf more than I did, I immediately anſwered him: 'We are in the midſt of 'a great tempeſt, wherein it ſeems to me that our ſhip 'is ſailing againſt the wind. I am provided with two 'good oars, a Cardinal's mace, and an Archbiſhop's 'croſier. I am unwilling to break them, and my 'buſineſs now is only to keep above water.'

You have ſeen that being obliged to wait very often on the Duke, I was forced to appear outwardly more active than I intended. Neceſſity even obliged me not to remain altogether quiet, becauſe of the noiſe thoſe of the Prince's party made by their pamphlets againſt me, wherein I was treated as a favourer of Mazarin. I was obliged to reply by other pamphlets, and the noiſe this made, added to my frequent viſits to the Duke, which though they were publickly known, appeared

appeared the more myſterious, becauſe I was obliged for the reaſon I have more than once mentioned, to go there only incognito, produced three very ill effects againſt me. The firſt was, that it occaſioned even indifferent perſons to believe that it was impoſſible for me to keep at reſt: The ſecond, that it perſuaded the Prince that I was irreconcileable to him: And the third, that it ſerved to exaſperate the Court more and more againſt me, becauſe I could not reply to the Prince's pamphlets, without inſerting in mine things that could not be agreeable to the Cardinal. Theſe inconveniencies could not be avoided without falling into greater. For the only means I had for avoiding the firſt, was an entire retreat from the world, which had been unbecoming at a time that it had been attributed to the pretended fear I had of the Prince, and which had been againſt the reſpect and the ſervice that I owed the Duke, at a time when my preſence, at leaſt as he fancied, was neceſſary to him. I could avoid the ſecond, only by reconciling myſelf with the Prince, or by ſuffering him to take with the publick all the advantages which he pleaſed againſt me: This laſt had been fooliſh, and the firſt was impracticable, both by reaſon of my engagements with the Queen upon that account, and of the diſpoſition of the Duke, who would always keep me as a reſerve to help him in caſe of need. I could not avoid the third without taking ſteps towards the Court, which the Cardinal would not have failed to make uſe of to ruin me, as the following example will ſhew.

As ſoon as I had received the news of my promotion, I ſent Argentueil to the King and to the Queen to give them an account of it; and I charged him expreſsly not to viſit the Cardinal, to whom I was, as you have ſeen, very far from thinking myſelf indebted for it, and whom I was beſides willing to mark by a circumſtance of this nature, with the parliament and with the publick, for my enemy. The Duke was ſo kind or ſo prudent to tell me himſelf, that he owned that it was neceſſary for me to give Argentueil that order, but that

that I ought however to do it with a proviſo, and that in the ſtate in which things were or would perhaps be at his arrival at Saumur, where the Court was at that time, he thought it beſt that Argentueil ſhould not be kept within too ſtrict bounds, and that I ſhould leave it to his diſcretion to ſee the Cardinal in ſecret if he required it, and if the Princeſs Palatine, to whom I recommended Argentueil for the introducing of him to the Queen, thought it uſeful. 'Who knows,' added he, if by the event, this may not be good 'for ſomething, even for the main of our affairs?' 'Prudence requires that one ſhould not loſe any op-'portunity that offers of amuſing, when one has to do 'with thoſe that make it their buſineſs to amuſe. 'Mazarin will without doubt render Argentueil's con-'ference with him publick; but where's the harm? 'Mazarin is an errant lyar whom nobody believes, and 'true or falſe he will publiſh it.' Theſe were the Duke's words, which proved a kind of prophecy. The Cardinal would ſee Argentueil in the night-time at the Princeſs Palatine's. He told him, (moved without doubt with an exceſſive kindneſs for me) that if I had been fooliſh enough to order that he ſhould have viſited him publicly, he would, with an intent of ſerving me, have mended that fault of mine, by a public refuſal. He ſhewed a mighty regard for every thing that concerned me, and he would have made Argentueil believe that he was reſolved to ſhare the miniſtry with me.

It is certain however that before Argentueil was returned to Paris, the Duke was informed by Goulas, not of what had really paſſed in reſpect to that viſit, but of all that would have paſſed if it had been of my own ſeeking, and made unknown to his Royal Highneſs, with a deſign of diſſerving him. This I think is ſufficient to ſhew you what was working againſt me, and may ſerve to juſtify the conduct I followed at that time.

It is by your order that I am writing the hiſtory of my life, and the pleaſure I take in obeying you faithfully,

faithfully, is the cauſe that I have ſpared myſelf ſo little, for you may hitherto have obſerved that I have taken no pains about making my apology. But I now find myſelf obliged to do it, becauſe it has been on this occaſion that my enemies have found it the moſt eaſy to impoſe upon the credulity of the vulgar. I know that people were ſaying at that time: 'Is it 'poſſible that the Cardinal de Retz is not ſatisfied to 'be at his age a Cardinal and Archbiſhop of Paris? 'How can it come into his head that he can obtain 'by force of arms the firſt place in the King's coun-'cil?' I know that the pitiful gazettes of that time are ſtill full of theſe ridiculous ideas. I confeſs that theſe ideas had ſtill been much more ridiculous than they are made appear in theſe papers, if I had really entertained any ſuch views or ſuch hopes. But it is certain that I was very far from doing it, not only by the unreaſonableneſs of the thing, conſidering the circumſtances; but even by my own inclination, which carried me with ſuch a rapidity, both towards pleaſure, and towards reputation, that the poſt of miniſter, which is a great obſtacle to pleaſure, and always renders reputation odious, was ſtill more againſt my taſte, than above my capacity. I do not know whether I am making my apology in ſpeaking to you after this manner, but I am ſure at leaſt that I am not making my panegyrick. I conſider that I am obliged above all things to ſay the truth, which indeed will not ſerve me much with poſterity for excuſing myſelf, but which will at leaſt be of ſome ſervice to ſhew that the greateſt part of ordinary men that judge of the actions of perſons in great poſts, ought at leaſt to be ſtiled preſumptuous fools. I begin to perceive that I have made this digreſſion too long, which you will perhaps attribute to vanity. I believe it does not proceed from that principle, and that the pleaſure I take in juſtifying myſelf has no other cauſe but my deſire of receiving your approbation.

It

It is impossible that when you reflect on the situation I was in at the time which I have described, but that you must remember what I have told you more than once, that there are conjunctures wherein it is impossible to act well. The Duke of Orleans was I believe repeating these words a hundred times in a day, sighing and lamenting more than you can imagine, for not hearkening to me when I was representing to him that he would himself fall into this state, and cause every body to fall into it with him. But my situation was still the worse by reason of some domestic disappointments (for I believe I may call them by that name) that happened to me at this time.

You have already seen that Madam de Chevreuse, Noirmoutier, and Laigues, had begun in some sort to keep divided from me; and that under pretence that they could neither directly nor indirectly come into the interest of the Prince, they had, in effect, abandoned that of the Duke, though they continued to observe outwardly all the measures of civility and respect they owed his Royal Highness. Their measures with the Court became much closer. The Abbot Fouquet had succeeded Bertet in this negotiation, as I learnt from the Duke himself, who obliged me, or rather forced me, to dive into it more than I had done if I had not had his express order; for in truth, since what had passed at the Hôtel de Chevreuse when the Cardinal re-entered the kingdom, I had ceased to rely in any wise upon them, and I continued to go thither, only because I saw Mademoiselle de Chevreuse there, who had not failed me. I thought myself obliged to the Duke for his giving no manner of credit to what Chavigny and Goulas were saying against me from morning to night, about the commerce there was between the persons I have named and the Court, which in effect opened a large field to calumniate me, and I thought myself thereby the more obliged to watch them myself. This consideration made me enter, against my inclination, into some measures with the Abbot Fouquet. I say against

againſt my inclination, for the little I had ſeen of that gentleman at Madam de Guimené's, where he went pretty often to ſee Madamoiſelle de Meneſſin, a relation of his, had given me no great opinion of him. He was very young at the time of his going thither, but he had even then a certain air of a raſh, paſſionate man, which I did not like. I ſaw him two or three times, in the evening, at a friend of his named le Fevre de la Barre, who was ſon to the Prevoſt-des-Marchands, upon pretence of conferring with him about breaking the cabals which the Prince was making to render himſelf maſter of the people. Our correſpondence laſted not long; both becauſe I drew immediately from him all that I wanted to know; and becauſe he grew quickly weary of converſations that anſwered not his purpoſe. He would have had me at the firſt inſtant to become as great a Mazarinian as he was himſelf, not conceiving it fit to preſerve any meaſures. He may, for ought I know, have become ſince an able man, but I can aſſure you that at that time he ſpoke no better than if he had been but juſt come from college. I believe that that might be of no diſſervice to him with Mademoiſelle de Chevreuſe, with whom he fell in love, and ſhe with him. Little de Roye, who was a pretty German woman belonging to her, informed me of it. I comforted myſelf eaſily enough with the waiting-woman of the infidelity of the miſtreſs, whoſe choice, to tell you the truth, did not humble me. I took however the liberty to break ſome jeſts at the Abbot, who thought, or who ſeemed to think, that I had carried them too far, and that I had threatened to have him cudgelled. I never thought of any ſuch thing, and yet he had preſerved as great a reſentment for it, as if it had been true. He contributed much to my impriſonment; and Mr. le Tellier has told me at Fontainebleau, after my return from foreign parts into France, that he had offered ſeveral times to the Queen, to kill me. My anger againſt him went not near ſo far, and was not greater than my jealouſy, which

which was but moderate. Mademoiſelle de Chevreuſe had only beauty, of which one grows weary when nothing is joined to it. She had wit only for the man ſhe loved, but as ſhe never loved long, her wit laſted but a little while. She grew angry at her lovers as ſhe did at her cloaths. Other women grow weary of theirs, ſhe burnt hers, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that her women could ſave a petticoat, a hood, a pair of gloves, or a point de Veniſe. I believe that if ſhe could have burnt her lovers too when ſhe grew weary of them, ſhe had done it with all her heart. Her mother, who would have ſet her at variance with me, when ſhe reſolved to unite intirely with the Court, loſt her labour, though ſhe had ingaged Madam de Guimené to ſhew her a billet under my hand, writ to that lady, whereby I gave myſelf up to her, body and ſoul, as witches do to the Devil. In the quarrel that I had with Noirmoutier and Laigues, at the time that the Cardinal entered into France, ſhe took my part in the moſt paſſionate manner; but in two months time ſhe changed, without knowing any reaſon why. She grew of a ſudden paſſionate for Charlotte, one of her women that was very pretty, and who would ſtick at nothing; but this laſted but ſix weeks, after which ſhe became in love with the Abbot Fouquet, and to that degree that ſhe would have married him, had he been willing. It was at that time that Madam de Chevreuſe, finding herſelf idle at Paris, reſolved to leave it and retire to Dampierre, being drawn thither by the hopes that Laigues (who had been at Court) had given her, that ſhe would be very well received there. I had an eclairciſement with Mademoiſelle de Chevreuſe, to whom I opened my grievances, which, to ſay the truth, I did not much ſtomach, and which did not hinder me from ſending all the gentlemen and all the horſe I had by me, to convoy both the mother and the daughter as far as Dampierre. I cannot finiſh this ſlight ſketch that repreſents the ſtate in which I was at that time, without

out doing the Prince of Condé the juſtice I owe him for his generoſity. Angerville, who belonged to the Prince of Conti, came from Bourdeaux, with a deſign of attempting againſt my life, as the Prince at leaſt believed or ſuſpected. I am aſhamed that I can give you no exact account about the particulars, becauſe one can never enter too much into the detail of good actions, chiefly of thoſe one ought to keep a grateful remembrance of. The Prince meeting Angerville in the Rue de Tournon, told him, that he would order him to be hanged, if he did not leave the town within two hours to rejoin his maſter.

Some days after the Prince being at Prudhomme's, who lodged in the ſtreet called d'Orleans, and having by him in that ſtreet his company of guards, and a great number of officers, Mr. de Rohan came to him all in a ſweat, to tell him that he had juſt left me in a ſad plight; that I was at the Hôtel de Chevreuſe, having with me only the Chevalier d'Humieres, cornet of my Gens d'Armes, and not above 30 horſe. The Prince anſwered him with a ſmile, The Cardinal de Retz is either too ſtrong or too weak. Much about that time Marigny told me, that being in the Prince's chamber, and having obſerved that he was reading a book with great attention, he had taken the liberty to tell him that it muſt be ſome very fine piece, ſince he took ſo much pleaſure in reading of it; and that the Prince anſwered him, 'Tis very true that I 'read this with great pleaſure, becauſe it tells me 'my faults, which is more than any body dare ven-'ture to do.' You muſt obſerve, that what he was reading was a pamphlet of mine, intitled, 'What is true 'and what is falſe in the Prince of Condé, and in the 'Cardinal de Retz;' which might eaſily have piqued and angered the Prince, becauſe I ſincerely own that I had been wanting in it to the reſpect I owed him. What the Prince ſaid on this occaſion is great, wiſe, and noble, and may be called an Apophthegm, of which Plutarch had not failed to take hold with pleaſure to honour ancient times with.

I return

I return to what was passing at that time in the assembly of the chambers, of which you have already seen the best part in the observations I have made, and on which I have even dwelt pretty long. I have mentioned to you the itch of negotiating as a disease that reigned in the party of the Princes. Mr. de Chavigny had actually, but secretly, a negociation on foot with the Cardinal, by the means of Mr. de Fabert. It came to nothing, because the Cardinal was at the bottom against an accommodation, and wanted only the appearance of one to discredit, with the parliament and with the people, the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé. He made use to that effect of the King of England, who proposed to the King of France a conference at Corbeil. It was accepted at Court, as it was likewise at Paris, by the Duke and by the Prince, to whom the Queen-mother of England proposed it. The Duke acquainted the Parliament with it upon the 26th of April, and he sent the next day Messieurs de Rohan, de Chavigny, and Goulas, to St. Germain's, where the King was gone from Corbeil. I took the liberty that evening to ask the Duke if he had some certainty, or at least some view, that that conference would be to any purpose; and he answered me, whistling betwixt whiles, 'I 'don't believe it; but who can help it? Every 'body is negotiating: I will not be left by my-'self.' You must give me leave to mark that answer, because it contains at once the whole conduct of the Duke in respect to all the negotiations which are to follow. He never had any other view in any of them. He negotiated merely because he saw others negotiate; he used no other art, no other cunning than that. He made no other answer, whenever I happened to represent to him the inconveniencies of that conduct, which however I never did, till after I had his repeated command for it, above five or six times.

I believe that you will cease to wonder that I would not concern myself in all this. You will still be the less surprized at it, when I have told you that after

the negotiation, of which I have been ſpeaking, which only ſerved to diſcredit the party, as you will preſently ſee, there were five or ſix others, or rather a chain of them, which Meſſieurs de Rohan, de Chavigny, Goulas, Gourville, and Madam de Châtillon, had in hand one after another. I gave however my helping hand to their work, which I embroidered with all the colours which might be of uſe to me with the public. As my buſineſs was to caſt upon that party the hatred and envy of Mazarinianiſm, which thoſe that compoſed it tried to charge me with on all occaſions, I did my very beſt to diſcover and expoſe publicly the private advantages which theſe ſeveral negotiators were earneſtly ſeeking for in their treaties. The propoſals of the government of Guienne for the Prince of Condé, of that of Provence for the Prince his brother, of that of Auvergne for Mr. de Nemours, of 100,000 crowns, which were aſked for Mr. de la Rochefoucaut, of the ſtaff of Mareſchal of France for Mr. du Doignon, of a patent of Duke for Mr. de Monteſpan, of the ſuperintendancy of the Finances for Mr. du Doignon, of the impowering the Duke of Orleans to make a general peace, and the Prince of Condé to name the miniſters, were painted out with all the livelineſs and extent poſſible. I thought it no impoſture in me to publiſh that all that I have mentioned had been propoſed, becauſe it is certain that I had ſuch advices from Court, though I would not ſwear that ſome articles were not amplified. What I know to be altogether true is, that the Cardinal gave room to every one to expect, that whatever they demanded ſhould be granted, without ever intending, for any ſingle inſtant, to grant any thing at all. He gave himſelf the pleaſure of expoſing in public Meſſieurs de Rohan, de Chavigny, and Goulas, conferring with him, both in private and before the King, at the very inſtant that the Duke and the Prince were ſaying publicly in the aſſembly of the chambers, that a previous article to all treaties was the having no manner of commerce with Mazarin. The Cardinal acted a

comedy

comedy in the presence of the gentlemen whom I have named, in which, whilst he was kneeling to the King, intreating him to give him leave to return into Italy, he had contrived that his Majesty should publicly command him to stay; which command the poor Cardinal was forced to obey. He had the pleasure to shew Gourville to all the Court, though he caused him to come by a private stair-case. He had the pleasure likewise to amuse Gaucourt, who, by his profession of negotiator, gave the negotiation still a greater lustre. In short, things came to that point that Madam de Châtillon went publicly to St. Germain's; upon which Nogent said, that when she entered the castle she wanted only to carry an olive-branch in her hand. She was in effect received and treated there as a Minerva. But the difference betwixt that goddess and her was, that Minerva in all likelihood would have foreseen the siege of Estampes, which the Cardinal undertook at that same instant, and in which he was prevented, but by a very little matter, from ruining entirely the whole party of the Prince. You will see by and by the particulars of that siege, which I have touched upon here, only because it served to put an end to the several negotiations of which I have spoke, and which I have been glad to mention together, that I might not be obliged to interrupt so frequently the thread of my narration.

But I doubt you are yourself interrupting of it at this instant, to tell me that Cardinal Mazarin must be a man of great skill, to deceive people, in a manner so useful to him, by so many appearances of advantageous accommodations. To this my answer is, that those who have in their hands the royal authority, find an incredible facility in amusing those who have a great aversion to make war against the King. I am in doubt whether I am excusing or praising the Prince. I am speaking the truth, which I have taken the liberty to speak to himself. There had like to have been some stirring in the parliament upon the day that the Duke spoke of the conferences which Messieurs de

Rohan, de Chavigny, and Goulas, had had at St. Germain's with the Cardinal.

This happened at the parliament on the 30th of April. The murmur was such, that the Duke, who was frighted at it, said publicly, that they would never see him there again till the Cardinal was out of France. The company resolved that the attorney-general should be sent to Court to sollicit the necessary passes for the deputies that were to make the new remonstrances, and to complain of the disorders committed by the soldiers in the neighbourhood of Paris.

Upon the 3d of May the attorney-general made his report of what he had done at St. Germain's, in pursuance of the orders of the company. He said that the King would hear the remonstrances on Monday the 6th of that month, and that his Majesty was very sorry that the conduct of the Duke of Orleans and of the Prince of Condé should oblige him to keep his army so near Paris. The town-house ordered that day the city-gates to be guarded, which they would not do however, before they had first a Lettre-de-Cachet to command them to do it. The Court sent that order, because they knew there that the Duke would at last oblige them to do it of his own authority. It was certainly a very necessary thing, tumults and disorders visibly encreasing at Paris every day.

Upon the 6th, the remonstrances of the parliament and of the chambers of accounts were made to the King with a great deal of vigour.

Upon the 7th, those of the court of aids and of the town-house were likewise made. The King's answer to all these remonstrances was, that he would order his troops to retire, when those of the Princes were removed further. The Lord-keeper, who spoke in his Majesty's name, did not so much as pronounce the name of the Cardinal.

Upon the 10th, it was resolved in the parliament, that the King's Council should be sent again to St. Germain's, to demand an answer about the removal

of

of Cardinal Mazarin, and to insist further upon the army's retiring from the neighbourhood of Paris.

The Prince came to the parliament upon the 11th, to inform the company that the bridge of St. Cloud was attacked. He caused as many citizens as he found willing to take up arms, and he carried them as far as the Bois de Boulogne, where he had notice that those who had reckoned upon taking the bridge of St. Cloud without any opposition, meeting with resistance there, were retired. He made use of the ardour of the citizens to seize upon St. Dennis, where 200 Switzers were in garrison. He took them sword in hand, and without any form of a siege, having himself got the first over the ditch; and he came back the next morning to Paris, having left at St. Dennis the regiment of Conti, if I am not mistaken, to guard that place. But what he had done proved fruitless; for Remeville, or St. Megrin, I don't remember precisely which, retook it two days after with all manner of facility, the inhabitants having declared for the King. La Lande, who commanded there for the Prince, made a pretty great resistance in the vaults of the church belonging to the abby, which he defended for two or three days.

There was a great commotion at the parliament upon the 14th. Many confused voices were heard, demanding that the company should deliberate upon finding out means for preventing the insolences and the seditions that happened daily in the town, and even in the parliament-hall. The Duke, who was informed of it, and who was afraid that under that pretence the Mazarinians of the parliament would oblige the company to take some steps contrary to his interest, came to the parliament pretty unexpectedly, and he proposed that the company should give him a full power. This proposal, which was inspired to the Duke by Mr. de Beaufort, in a heat, without any view, and upon very slight grounds, produced three ill effects; the first of which was, that the whole company was persuaded that it was done upon mature

deliberation: the second, that it lessened the Duke very much, his birth and his post, considering the conjunctures, having no need of a borrowed authority: and the third, that the presidents took so much courage at it, that they durst tell the Duke to his face, that none were ignorant of the respect they owed him, and that for that reason they thought it proper to forbear to insert his proposal in their registers. Nothing is so dangerous as proposals that appear mysterious, and are not so; because they raise all the envy which mysterious things never fail to do, and that they are even an obstacle to the advantages which it is supposed they will bring.

The Duke, upon the 15th, had a sad experience of that truth, for he had the vexation to see a printer summoned to appear before the Chambers, for publishing a pamphlet, wherein it was said that the parliament had resigned all their authority, and that of the whole city, into the hands of the Duke. He told me that evening, swearing, that he no longer wondered that Mr. de Mayenne, during the League, was not able to bear the impertinencies of that company, adding even to that expression another still more licentious. I answered him something which I have forgot, but I remember that he smiled at it, and set it down in his table-book, saying to me, I will paraphrase it to the Prince.

Upon the 16th, the President de Nesmond made his report about the remonstrances, which the King had ordered, after some difficulties, to be read in the presence of the deputies, to whom he said that he should order an answer in writing to be made to them in two or three days. After the President de Nesmond had spoke, the Attorney-General gave an account of his deputation, saying, that having demanded that the troops should retire ten leagues off of Paris, and having explained the declaration which the Princes had made for causing likewise those they had at the bridge of St. Cloud, and at Neuilly, to retire, the King had named on his side the Mareschal Hopital, and had sent

ſent a paſs with a blank to inſert the name of the gentleman that ſhould be ſent by the Duke, to confer together with the Mareſchal of the means of proceeding to that removal. He added, that the Count de Bethune, who had been choſen by the Duke to that effect, had conferred with Meſſieurs de Bullion, de Villeroi, and le Tellier, and that his Majeſty, out of regard for his good city of Paris, yielded to grant that removal, provided that the Princes ſhould execute on their ſide what they were engaged to on the ſame account. The attorney-general, who was aſſiſted by Mr. Bignon, advocate-general, preſented afterwards to the company a writing, ſigned by the King, and counter-ſigned by a ſecretary of ſtate, importing that his Majeſty would, without delay, ſend for two preſidents and two counſellors, out of each chamber, to inform them of his will in reſpect to the remonſtrances. Upon this the parliament ordered new ones to be made, in which the Cardinal's name ſhould be mentioned with ſtill a greater aggravation.

Nothing conſiderable paſſed in the aſſemblies of the chambers of the 24th and 28th of May.

Upon the 29th, the deputies of the inqueſts came into the grand chamber, demanding an aſſembly of the chambers to deliberate about the means of raiſing the ſum of one hundred and fifty thouſand livres, promiſed to the man that ſhould bring the Cardinal dead or alive. Juſt at that time, the vicar-general to the Archbiſhop coming into the bar of the King's council, to confer about the expoſing the ſhrine of Sainte Genevieve, le Clerk de Courcelles ſaid wittily enough on that occaſion, 'We are this day ordering a double 'holy-day; a ſolemn proceſſion of our patroneſs's 'ſhrine, and the aſſaſſination of a Cardinal.' It is time to ſpeak of the ſiege of Eſtampes.

You have ſeen that it was agreed on both ſides that the troops ſhould be removed ten leagues off of Paris. Mr. de Turenne, who ſome time before had uſed thoſe of the Princes pretty roughly at the ſuburbs of Eſtampes, where the regiments of foot of Bur-

gundy, and of horſe of Wirtemberg and of Brow, had ſuffered very much, reſolved upon cruſhing of them altogether in the town itſelf; and the weakneſs of the place, as well as that of the generals, made him believe that the thing was not impracticable. The Count de Tavannes, who commanded there for the Prince, (Meſſieurs de Beaufort and de Nemours being at Paris) made one of the fineſt and moſt vigorous defences that has been ſeen in our days. There was much blood ſhed on both ſides. The Chevaliers de la Vieuville and de Parabere were wounded there. The attacks were frequent and vigorous, and the defence was anſwerable. The ſmall number had at laſt yielded to the ſtronger, if the Duke of * Lorrain had not come very a-propos to oblige Mr. de Turenne to raiſe the ſiege. This march of Mr. de Lorrain's deſerves to be explained to you.

The Spaniards had been for a pretty long time preſſing of him to enter into France for the aſſiſting the Princes. The Duke and Dutcheſs of Orleans had been earneſtly ſoliciting of him to the like effect. His anſwer to the Spaniards was, demanding money of them; and to the Duke and Dutcheſs of Orleans was, his demanding the towns of Jametz, Clermont, and Stenay, which had formerly belonged to him, and which the King had ſince given the Prince of Condé. The Duke forced me one day to dictate to Fromont an inſtruction for Le Grand, whom he was ſending to Bruſſels, in order to perſuade the Duke of Lorrain; and I may ſincerely ſay, that it is the only thing of that nature that I did during the whole courſe of that war. I was continually telling the Duke, that I would preſerve the ſatisfaction of being able to think inwardly, that I had nothing to do in an affair where every thing went '† a la peggio;' and I had almoſt uſed him even to ceaſe to aſk my opinion upon what paſſed, by anſwering him always with monoſyllables. He

* Charles the fourth, Duke of Lorrain.
† At random.

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was one day chiding me for it, when I added, 'Tis 'true, Sir, and that monoſyllable is always the ſame, 'always No.' I could not obſerve the ſame conduct in reſpect to the Duke of Lorrain's march; for the Duke of Orleans deſired abſolutely, and the Dutcheſs ſtill more than he, that I ſhould draw up the inſtruction which I have juſt now mentioned. I don't know whether it found the Duke of Lorrain already inclined that way, but he marched with his army, which was compoſed of 8000 men, all veterans and good ſoldiers. He left them at Ligni, and came himſelf to Paris, entering the city on horſeback, with an incredible applauſe of the people. The duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé went to meet him on the laſt of May, as far as Bourget, and were accompanied by Meſſieurs de Beaufort, de Nemours, de Rohan, de Sully, de la Rochefoucaut, de Gaucourt, de Chavigny, and Don Gabriel de Toledo. It happened by chance that theſe two laſt marched a-breaſt in the entry. The Duke, who hated Chavigny, told it me in the evening, tranſported with joy at it; and my anſwer was, that I wondered what could occaſion his ſurprize; that Mr. de Chavigny did no more than what the Preſident Jeanning, who had been one of the ableſt miniſters of Henry IV. had formerly done; that the only difference was, that the Preſident Jeanning had ſquadroned with the Spaniards before he was a miniſter, and Mr. de Chavigny did it not till after he had been one. The Duke was very well pleaſed with the apology, which he got to be writ down, and had ſeveral copies of it maliciouſly diſperſed up and down, in a manner that I found one upon his ſtair-caſe, and another at the Cours a quarter of an hour after. I kept myſelf very reſerved in reſpect to the Duke of Lorrain; and though he was brother to the Dutcheſs of Orleans, to whom I was very particularly attached, all I did was to ſend a gentleman to aſſure him of my ſervices. The Duke of Orleans deſired that I ſhould ſee him, in which there was ſome difficulty, the Dukes of Lorrain pretending to take the upper

hand of Cardinals they go to visit. We met at the Dutchess of Orleans's, and afterwards in the Duke's gallery, where there is no rank observed, and where, besides, supposing there had been any, no difficulty had arose, because he did not dispute me the rank in a third place. This conference was wholly spent in civilities and in railleries, in which he was inexhaustible. He took a fancy, two or three days after, to see me at the novices house at the Jesuits, where I met him at the Dutchess of Orleans's desire. I began by telling him, that I was very sorry that the Roman ceremonial had not given me leave to pay him my respects at his house, as I should have wished; and he immediately repaid me in the same coin, by saying, that he was sorry at heart that the ceremonial of the empire should have hindered his waiting on me at my house, and his using me as he could have wished. He asked me afterwards, without any preamble, whether I thought his nose so proper to be filipped? and then going on, he railed at the Archduke, and at the Duke and Dutchess of Orleans, who made him receive a dozen filips on the nose every day, by obliging him to come and succour the Prince of Condé, who detained what belonged to him. From this he entered into a detail of proposals and overtures, of which I protest I understood not one word. I thought that my best way was to answer him by a discourse, which, I can assure you, he could make but little of. He has remembered this as long as he lived; and when he returned into Lorrain, the first compliment he sent me, by the Abbot de St. Michael, was, that he did not doubt but that we should for the future understand one another better than we had done at the Jesuits at Paris. To tell you the truth, I had been to blame, if I had spoke more clearly than he, being so well informed of what was passing every where in respect to him. I had sure notice that the Court offered him in a manner carte-blanche; and I was not ignorant, that though he might fill it almost as

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he pleased, he gave ear however to much lesser proposals.

Madam de Chevreuse, who had not left Paris at that time, told him, rather in jest than seriously, that he might perform the gallantest action in the world, by obliging Mr. de Turenne to raise the siege of Estampes, which would fully satisfy both the Duke and the Spaniards; and by returning immediately after with his army into Flanders, which would to the last degree please the Queen, whose particular servant he had all along professed himself to be. This proposal, which might please both sides, agreed very well with his wavering way. He resolved upon it without any more ado, and Madam de Chevreuse valued herself for it at Court, where they were not sorry to cover the necessity they were in of raising the siege of Estampes, with some appearance of a negotiation, which they magnified among the public, with a thousand particulars, that are always honoured by vulgar reasonings as so many mysteries. Nothing in the world however was less mysterious than what passed on these occasions; and though I was at that time not at all in the confidence either of Madam or Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, as you have already seen, I was well enough informed of it, against both their wills, to assure you of the certain truth of what I have said. The conduct which the Duke of Lorrain followed, the next day after the siege was raised, was a sure mark that I was not deceived, or was at least a proof that he remained not long satisfied with himself in respect to that action. For though he spoke to the Duke of the service he had done him in obliging the Court to raise the siege of Estampes, in the highest terms, it appeared to me soon after, that he was ashamed of the treaty he had made, and that that was the reason that obliged him to grant the Princes what they asked of him, which was to delay his marching away, and to stay at Villeneuve St. George, till the troops that marched out of Estampes were got into some safe place.

Mr. de Turenne finding that the Duke of Lorrain did not keep the word he had given him to return into the Low Countries, marched to Corbeil, with a deſign to paſs the Seine there, and to fight him. There were goings backward and forward about explaining what had been either promiſed or not promiſed, during which the troops of Lorrain intrenched themſelves. Mr. de Turenne being advanced with the King's army, having paſſed the river Yerre, and having drawn up his army in battalia, in the preſence of the Lorrainers, every body was expecting that both armies would have given the ſignal for a battle, which certainly had been bloody, conſidering the goodneſs of the troops on both ſides, but which would probably have turned to the advantage of thoſe of the King; becauſe the Lorrainers wanted ground. At that critical inſtant, my Lord Jermin came to Mr. de Turenne, acquainting him that the Duke of Lorrain was ready to execute what had been agreed upon, on ſuch and ſuch terms. A negotiation was immediately entered into; and the King of England, who, upon the likelihood of a battle, had joined Mr. de Turenne, went himſelf backward and forward. It was agreed that Mr. de Lorrain ſhould depart the kingdom in fifteen days, and remove from his poſt the very next day; that he ſhould put into Mr. de Turenne's poſſeſſion, the boats which had been ſent him from Paris to make a bridge over the river; that Mr. de Turenne ſhould make no uſe of theſe boats to paſs the Seine, and ſtop the paſſage of the troops that were marched out of Eſtampes; that what troops belonging to the Princes were in the Prince of Condé's camp, might ſafely come into Paris; and that proviſions ſhould be furniſhed by the King's order to the Duke of Lorrain's troops during their retreat. Theſe two laſt articles received not much oppoſition, Mr. de Turenne ſaying, that he was perſuaded that the Duke of Lorrain's army would ſave the King the trouble and expence of furniſhing them with proviſions, becauſe they would take care to provide for themſelves upon

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the road; and as for the liberty that was aſked for the troops of the Princes to get ſafely into Paris, Mr. de Turenne granted it with joy, becauſe he was ſure that that would more alarm than encourage the city. Mr. de Beaufort, who had brought to his camp five or ſix hundred voluntiers from among the citizens, told the Duke the next day in the evening, that they had been ſo much frightened, that he was troubled for fear they ſhould alarm the whole city. The Prince, who was ſick at that time, was for that reaſon againſt their going out of the city at that conjuncture. I return to the parliament.

I have had ſo little ſhare in the laſt aſſemblies of the chambers, and in the affairs I have laſt mentioned, that I have been for ſome time in doubt with myſelf whether I ſhould inſert them in a work that ought to be, properly ſpeaking, but merely the account which you have commanded me to give you of my actions. It is certain that my promotion happened juſt at a time when the ſtate of things, as I have been explaining to you before, had prevented my acting almoſt in any manner, though I had continued to aſſiſt at the deliberations of the parliament. I was now deprived by my dignity to ſit and ſpeak there, and as you have ſeen before, I ſpoke but little at the Duke's palace. As for the movement I gave myſelf there, I can aſſure you very ſincerely, that it was more imaginary than real, and ſuch only as ſpeculative men were pleaſed to fancy. But as they were pleaſed to fancy all manner of things upon my account, I was continually expoſed to the diſtruſt of ſome, to the apprehenſion of others, and to the reaſonings of all. The part I acted, which was to keep unactive, or at moſt merely on the defenſive, is always a dangerous part to act, and is not eaſy to be deſcribed, becauſe one can hardly do it without an appearance of vain-glory, and ſelf-love. It looks as if one incorporated one's ſelf with every thing conſiderable that happens in a ſtate, when, in a work that ought to relate only to one's own perſon, a man dwells upon matters in which he has had no ſhare.

From that conſideration I have looked out with care how to diſtinguiſh things of that nature, from others which really belong to theſe memoirs; but it has been impoſſible for me to do it, becauſe the figure I have made (though but a middling one) in the times that went before and that followed theſe, in which I remained unactive, gives them ſuch a relation and connection one with another, that it would be a hard taſk to ſet them before your eyes in a true light, if they were entirely diſtinguiſhed. This obliges me to go on with what was paſſing at that time, in which I intend however to be as ſhort as poſſible, becauſe I never write upon other people's memoirs but with an extreme repugnance. I will only mention matters of fact, without any obſervations of my own, and only relate what appears the moſt weighty to me, paſſing by the moſt ſlight matters; and in what relates to the aſſemblies of the parliament, I ſhall take notice of the dates, in reſpect only to the moſt conſiderable deliberations. I ſhall forbear even mentioning the others, being perſuaded that it is more than ſufficient to tell you, that they were wholly employed in declamations againſt the Cardinal, in complaints and in arreſts againſt the inſolencies and the ſeditions of the people, and in the Prince's diſowning theſe ſeditions, which for the moſt part were indeed but too natural an effect of the people's diſpoſitions.

Upon the firſt of June the Duke ſent to the parliament to know what ſeat they would give the Duke of Lorrain in the aſſemblies of the chambers. The company anſwered unanimouſly, That the Duke of Lorrain being an enemy to the ſtate, they could give him no ſeat at all there. The Duke, who honoured me with a viſit two or three days after, upon account of a defluxion I had in my eyes, ſaid to me, 'Could you 'have believed that the parliament would have made 'me that anſwer?' To which I replied, 'I could 'have much leſs believed, Sir, that you would have 'run the hazard of aſking them the queſtion.' He replied in an angry tone, 'If I had not ventur'd it, the

'Prince

'Prince had ſaid that I had been a Mazarinian.' This word diſcovers the principle of all the Duke's actions at that time.

There was a great commotion at the parliament upon the 7th, on account of the approach of the troops of Lorrain, who were come on this ſide of Lagny, and who committed great diſorders in Brie. This was ſpoken of in the parliament with the ſame ſurprize and horror, as if there had been no manner of diviſions in the kingdom.

Upon the 10th, the Preſident de Neſmond reported what had paſſed in the deputation ſent to the King, who from the beginning of the ſiege of Eſtampes had advanced as far as Melun. His Majeſty's anſwer was, That the company might ſend whom they pleaſed to confer with thoſe whom he ſhould name, about reeſtabliſhing the public quiet. The company deliberated upon this, and they reſolved to ſend the ſame deputies back to Court to be better informed of the King's will, but to renew however the remonſtrances againſt Mazarin. Both the Duke and the Prince had been againſt this reſolution, maintaining that no propoſals about a conference ought to be hearkened to, except the firſt article was actually and effectually for the removing the Cardinal.

The complaints were renewed upon the 14th, againſt the approach of the troops of Lorrain, and were carried ſo far as to occaſion the ſending for the King's council, whoſe concluſions were, that the Duke of Orleans ſhould be deſired to oblige them to retire. A counſellor, whoſe name I don't remember, having ſaid, that he could not imagine how the retreat of thoſe troops could be of ſervice to the company, conſidering upon what terms they were with the Court; Menardeau anſwered, That that reaſon obliging the company ſtill the more to take off all manner of pretences that might be made uſe of for calumniating them with the King, his opinion was, that they ſhould put out an arreſt injoining the commons to fall upon them. A further deliberation upon this was however put off

till the Duke ſhould be preſent. It is likely that you imagine that the Duke of Lorrain's retreat, of which I have ſpoken, and which was known at Paris upon the 16th, made no great impreſſion upon people's minds, having been ſo generally wiſhed for. That impreſſion was however incredible, and I obſerved that many of thoſe who had highly exclaimed againſt his approach, were thoſe that made the greateſt noiſe againſt his retreat. It is not extraordinary that men ſhould not know themſelves: there are times where it may be ſaid, that they have loſt all feeling.

Upon the 20th, the Preſident de Neſmond reported what had paſſed in the deputation ſent to the King at Melun, and got his Majeſty's anſwer to be read to the company, the ſubſtance of which was; That though his Majeſty could not be ignorant that the demand that was made about the removal of Cardinal Mazarin, was no more than a pretence, he might perhaps be induced to grant a thing, which the Cardinal himſelf was every day preſſing him to, (after having repaired his honour by ſuch declarations as his innocence required) if his Majeſty was aſſured that he might have good and ſubſtantial ſureties on the part of the Princes, for the execution of what they had offered in caſe of that removal: That his Majeſty deſired therefore to know:

1. Whether in that caſe they will renounce all manner of leagues and aſſociations made with foreign Princes?

2. Whether this will put an end to their pretenſions?

3. Whether they will attend on his Majeſty?

4. Whether they will ſend back the foreigners that are in the kingdom?

5. Whether they will diſband their forces?

6. Whether Bourdeaux will ſubmit to its duty, as well as the Prince of Conti, and Madam de Longueville?

7. Whether the places which the Prince has fortified will be put into their firſt ſtate?

Theſe

Theſe are the chief of the twelve queſtions, on which the Duke of Orleans ſpoke with a great deal of emotion, ſaying, That it was a thing unheard of, that a ſon of France, and a Prince of the blood, ſhould be brought in this manner upon the ſtool to be aſked queſtions, as if the declaration they both of them had made of laying down their arms as ſoon as Cardinal Mazarin ſhould be out of the kingdom, was not more than ſufficient to content the Court, ſuppoſing that their intentions there were good. The company began to deliberate on this, but they could not make an end, and ſo the deliberation was put off till the next day.

The Duke not being able to come to the parliament upon the 21ſt, by reaſon of a great fit of the cholic, which he had had in the night, nothing was debated there in the preſence of the Prince, but how to find out a fund for the ſubſiſtence of the poor, who ſuffered very much in the city, and about raiſing the ſum of 150,000 livres, which was the price ſet upon the Cardinal's head. It was propoſed about this laſt article, to make with ſpeed an inventory of what houſehold goods were remaining, belonging to the Cardinal. Mr. de Beaufort committed that day a blunder worthy of him. There having been in the morning a great commotion in the palace-yard, in which Meſſieurs de Vanau and Partial would have been killed, if it had not been for him, he thought that the beſt way for diverting the mob from coming to the parliament, was to aſſemble them at the Place-Royale, where he gave them a rendezvous for the afternoon. He gathered there four or five thouſand beggars, to whom he made a kind of ſermon, in which indeed he had no other end than to exhort them to the obedience which they owed to the parliament. I was informed of all the particulars by perſons whom I had ſent thither on purpoſe, and who might be credited. Fear, which had already poſſeſſed moſt of the Preſidents and of the Counſellors, made them believe that that aſſembly was intended only for their undoing. This fear redoubled

redoubled at the ſpeeches which they fancied that Mr. de Beaufort was making, and it became ſo great, that it was not in the power either of the Duke, or of the Prince to remove it, and to oblige them to go to the parliament. What happened that ſame day to the Preſident de Maiſons, in the ſtreet called de Tournon, did not ſerve to raiſe their courage. He was very near being killed by a multitude of people as he was coming out of the Duke's palace, and it was with a great deal of difficulty that the Prince and Mr. de Beaufort could ſave him What happened on this occaſion ſhewed that Mr. de Beaufort was not aware that the aſſembling the mob together is always the putting them in a commotion. It appeared by experience to be ſo, for two or three days after his fine ſermon, the ſedition grew ſtronger than it had yet been; and the Preſident de Novion was even purſued in the ſtreet, and run the greateſt riſk poſſible.

On the 25th the Princes declared in the aſſembly of the chambers, that as ſoon as the Cardinal was out of the kingdom, they would faithfully execute all the articles which were aſked of them in the King's anſwer, and would afterwards ſend deputies to conclude what ſhould remain undone. Upon this the company gave out an arreſt, ordering that the deputies of the parliament ſhould inceſſantly return to Court to carry the Princes declaration to the King.

Not any of the Preſidents went to the parliament on the 26th.

On the 27th the Preſident de Novion went thither, and gave out a cutting arreſt againſt ſeditious perſons.

The other ſittings were ſpent in giving the neceſſary orders for the ſafety of the city, which occaſioned no ſmall trouble, thoſe of the guards being themſelves often enough the authors of the ſeditions. It is time to return to the war affairs.

The Prince, who had had ſome fits of a tertian ague, went as far as Linard to meet his troops, which were coming from Eſtampes; and as the Court had in

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no manner of way obſerved what had been promiſed there, in reſpect of their removing theirs from the neighbourhood of Paris, he thought not himſelf obliged to remove his, which made him poſt his ſmall army at St. Cloud, a conſiderable poſt, becauſe of the bridge, by means of which he might, in caſe of need, remove it wherever he pleaſed.

Mr. de Turenne, who was with the King's army about St. Dennis, whither his Majeſty was likewiſe come in perſon to be nearer Paris; Mr. de Turenne, I ſay, built a bridge of boats at Epinal, with an intent to come and attack the enemy before they had time to retire. Mr. de Tavannes had notice given him of it, and ſent the like to the Prince, who came to his camp with all diligence. He marched off in the evening, and came towards Paris, intending to arrive at Charenton by break of day, to paſs there the Marne, and take a poſt from whence he might not be diſlodged. But Mr. de Turenne gave him not time to do it, for he attacked his rear-guard in the ſuburb of St. Dennis. The Prince loſt there but a few men of the regiment of Conti, and he ſent the Duke of Orleans word by the Count de Fieſque, that he might rely upon his reaching the ſuburb of St. Anthony, in which he ſhould, he ſaid, have more room to defend himſelf. It is on this occaſion, more than on any other, that I am ſorry that the Prince has not given me, as he had promiſed, an account of his actions. What he did that day was one of the fineſt of his whole life. I have heard from Laigues, who underſtood war affairs, and was with him all that day, though he was more diſcontented at him than all the world beſides, that he ſhewed ſomething in this occaſion beyond human valour, and human capacity. I ſhould be inexcuſable if I undertook to give you the detail of the greateſt and moſt heroic action in the world, from the memoirs that were publiſhed, which I have heard officers ſpeak of with contempt. I ſhall only tell you, that after the moſt bloody and obſtinate fight in the world, he ſaved his troops, which were but a handful of men, though attacked by Mr.

Mr. de Turenne, reinforced by the army of the Mareſchal de la Ferté. He loſt there the Count de Boſſu, a Fleming, la Roche Giffart, Flammarin, and de Hacqueſt, of the houſe of Montmorency. Meſſieurs de la Rochefoucaut, de Tavannes, de Cogny, the Viſcount de Melun, and the Chevalier de Fort were wounded there. On the King's ſide, Eſclainvillier was wounded, and Meſſieurs de St. Megrin and Mancini were killed. I cannot expreſs to you the Duke's agitation all the time the fight laſted. All poſſible events filled up his thoughts for a while, and were ſucceeded, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, by a view of all impoſſible events. Jouy, whom he ſent ſeven times to me in leſs than three hours, told me that there were moments in which he was afraid that the city would revolt againſt him; and others, wherein he feared that it would declare too much for the Prince. He ſent perſons unknown to ſee what was doing at my houſe, and nothing encouraged him thoroughly, but the hearing that I had only my Switzer to guard my door. This I was told by Bruneau the next day, who concluded from it, that there was no great danger ſince I was no better guarded againſt it. Mademoiſelle, who had done her utmoſt with the Duke to oblige him to go into the ſtreet called St. Anthony, to cauſe the gate to be opened to the Prince, who began to be extremely preſſed in the ſuburb, took the reſolution to go thither herſelf. She went into the Baſtille, the entrance of which, Louviere *, out of reſpect, durſt not refuſe her. She cauſed the cannon to be fired upon the troops of the Mareſchal de la Ferté, which were advancing with a deſign to take in flank thoſe of the Prince. She afterwards harangued the guard that was at the gate of St. Anthony, which was opened to the Prince, who entered the city with his army, of which the ſoldiers, though much diſabled, appeared covered with more glory ſtill than wounds. This famous fight happened upon the 2d of July.

* Son to Brouſſel, and Governor of the Baſtille.

A general

A general assembly at the town-house, which had been ordered on the first of July by the parliament, to advise about what was to be done for the safety of the city, was held there upon the 4th in the afternoon. Both the Duke and the Prince assisted there, upon pretence of thanking the city for giving entrance to their troops the day that the fight happened; but in reality, to engage the assembly to unite still more strictly with them. This was at least what the Duke was made to believe; but there was another design, which I heard not of till four or five years after, when the Prince himself discovered it to me at Brussels. I do not precisely remember whether he confirmed to me a report very current among the public, of an advice given him by Mr. de Bouillon, that the Court would never think of a real accommodation with him, till they were convinced there that he was in effect master of Paris. I know that I inquired of him about the truth of that report, but I cannot recall to my memory what his answer was. This is what he discovered to me about his design. He was persuaded that I did him great disservices with the Duke, in which, as you have seen before, he was mistaken. But he was likewise persuaded that I did him a great deal of prejudice in the city, in which he was in the right. I have acquainted you with the reasons I had for acting so, in respect to him. The Prince had observed that I stood in no manner upon my guard, and that I made use, even with affectation, of the pretence of marching incognito, to which the ceremonial obliged me, to shew the confidence and the trust which I reposed in the people's good-will, in the midst of the greatest commotions. He resolved very prudently to make use of that confidence of mine, to execute one of the wisest and finest actions that had perhaps been imagined during that whole age. His design was to stir the people upon the morning of the day that the assembly was to be held at the Town-house; to come directly to my house about ten in the morning, which was known to be just the hour that I had least company with me, because

cauſe it was the time I commonly employed about my ſtudies; to carry me away civilly in my coach out of the city; and to forbid me at the gate, in due form, to come into it again. I am conſcious to myſelf that the game was ſure, and that in the condition things were in, the ſame perſons that had taken up arms for my defence, if they had had time to conſider on it, had approved the thing after its execution; it being certain that in revolutions that are great enough to keep the multitude in ſuſpence, thoſe that get the ſtart are always applauded, provided they ſucceed at firſt. I ſtood upon no manner of defence. The Prince might have made himſelf maſter of the cloyſter without ſtriking a blow; and I might have been carried to one of the city gates, before any alarm ſtrong enough had been given to oppoſe it. Nothing could have been better imagined. The Duke, who would have been ſtruck down with the thing, had applauded it. The aſſembly at the Town-houſe, whom the Prince would have informed of it upon the ſpot, had trembled at it. The Prince's civil manner of doing it had been both praiſed and admired. I had ſuffered by it a great loſs of reputation, for keeping in a condition ſo defenceleſs, and I muſt have confeſſed myſelf to have been guilty of a great deal of temerity and of imprudence, not to have foreſeen a thing ſo feaſible. Fortune turned that fine deſign againſt the Prince, and rendered it, by the event, as fatal as the blackeſt of all enterprizes could have been.

The commotion being begun towards the Place-Dauphine, by forcing thoſe that went by to put ſtraw in their hats, Mr. de Cumont, a Counſellor of the parliament, and a particular ſervant of the Prince's, who had been obliged to do as the reſt, went in great haſte to give notice of this to the Duke, and to intreat him to prevent the Prince, who was in the gallery, from going out whilſt that commotion laſted, which Cumont ſuppoſed, as he told the Duke, to have been raiſed either by the Mazarinians, or by the Cardinal de Retz, for deſtroying the Prince. At this the Duke

ran

ran after his Highneſs, who was going down the privy-ſtairs, and who had his coach ready to come to my houſe and execute his deſign. The Duke made uſe of his authority, and even of violence to keep him from going. He made him dine with him, and carried him afterwards to the Town-houſe, where the aſſembly was to be held. They ſtaid there only to return their thanks to the company, and to repreſent the neceſſity there was of finding out means to defend themſelves againſt Mazarin, after which they came away. The ſight of a trumpeter, who arrived juſt at that time from the King, with an order for the aſſembly to be put off for a week, provoked the people who were in the Greve, crying inceſſantly, that the city ought to unite with the Princes. Some officers, whom the Prince had interſperſed in the morning with the mob, not having received the orders they expected, were not able to ſtop their fury. The firſt object it diſcharged itſelf upon, was the Town-houſe. They ſhot at the windows; they ſet fire to the doors; they entered in, ſword in hand. They maſſacred Mr. le Gras, a Maſter of Requeſts, and Mr. Miron, a Maſter in the Chamber of Accounts, and one of the moſt honeſt men, and of the beſt credit with the people, that was in Paris. There were, beſides, twenty-five or thirty citizens that periſhed in this occaſion, and the Mareſchal de l'Hopital eſcaped the danger but by a miracle, and by the help of the Preſident Barentin. A young man of Paris, named Noblet, of whom I have already ſpoken, in relating the encounter I had with Mr. de la Rochefoucaut at the parliament, had likewiſe the good luck to be ſerviceable to the Mareſchal on this occaſion. You may eaſily imagine what effect the Town-houſe ſet on fire, and the blood ſhed, produced in Paris. The conſternation was at firſt general there; all the ſhops were ſhut up in an inſtant. Things remained for a while in that ſtate, and it was about ſix in the afternoon before the citizens awaked and came to themſelves in ſome places, where they ſet up barricadoes to ſtop the ſeditious, who diſperſed almoſt

almoſt of themſelves. Mademoiſelle contributed however to it. She went herſelf, accompanied by Mr. de Beaufort, to the Greve, where ſhe found ſome of them left, whom ſhe drove away. Theſe wretches ſhewed more reſpect to her than to the hoſt, which the curate of St. John's preſented to them, to oblige them to extinguiſh the fire which they had ſet to the Town-houſe doors.

The Biſhop of Châlons came to my houſe in the height of this commotion, the fear he had for my perſon being ſtronger than that he ſhewed for his own in a conjuncture where nobody without exception could reckon themſelves ſafe in walking the ſtreets. He found me ſo little precautioned againſt the danger, that he made me aſhamed of it, and I cannot conceive even at this time what could oblige me to be ſo careleſs on an occaſion in which I had, or at leaſt might have, ſo great a need to look to myſelf. This has perſuaded me, as much as any other thing in the world, that men are often valued for actions, which they ought the moſt to be blamed for. The public praiſed my firmneſs, when it ought to have blamed my imprudence. This laſt was real, the other was only imaginary. The truth is, that I had made no manner of reflection upon the danger which I began to be ſenſible of as ſoon as I was made to perceive it. Mr. de Caumartin ſent at that inſtant to his houſe for a thouſand piſtoles, with which I made ſome ſoldiers, for he found me without money. I joined them to ſome reformed officers which I had always preſerved out of my Lord Montroſs's remains. The Marquiſs de Sabliere, colonel of the regiment of Valois, furniſhed me with a hundred of his beſt ſoldiers, commanded by two captains of his regiment that were domeſticks of mine. Querieux brought me thirty Gens-d'armes out of the company which he commanded, and Buſſy Lamet forty choſen men out of the garriſon of Mezieres. I furniſhed all my houſe and all the towers of Nôtre-Dame with granadoes. I took ſome meaſures, in caſe of an attack, with thoſe of

of the Ponts of Nôtre-Dame, and of St. Michael, who were mighty well affected to me. In fine, I put myſelf in a condition to diſpute the ground, and to be no more expoſed to any inſults.

This conduct appeared wiſer than the blind ſecurity in which I had been for ſome time. And yet it was not ſo in effect, compared at leaſt with that which I ſhould have followed, had I been capable of minding only my own intereſt, by taking hold of the opportunity which fortune preſented me with. There was nothing more natural, both in reſpect to my profeſſion, and to the condition I was in, than to leave Paris, after a commotion which threw the public hatred upon a party that appeared at that time the moſt oppoſite to me. I had not loſt by it thoſe that were my friends among the Frondeurs, becauſe they had looked upon my retreat as upon a reſolution to which I was brought by neceſſity. I ſhould inſenſibly have reconciled myſelf with thoſe that were lovers of peace, who could hardly have refuſed to take my part, becauſe they had looked on me as on one that was exiled for a cauſe which they had themſelves eſpouſed. The Duke could not have complained of me for abandoning a place in which it appeared he was no longer maſter. Cardinal Mazarin had himſelf been obliged in that caſe, both in reſpect to decency and to intereſt, to preſerve meaſures with me; and it was even naturally impoſſible but that the Court's animoſity againſt me muſt have diminiſhed conſiderably, by a conduct that would have much contributed to blacken that of its enemies. My retreat might have been attended with circumſtances which would have eaſily prevented my ſharing the public hatred that was born againſt Mazarin. In order to that, my buſineſs would have only been to retire into the country of Retz, without going to Court; and that had even cleared me from the ſuſpicion of Mazarinianiſm for the time paſt. In that manner I had got off from the daily trouble in which I was, and from that which I foreſaw for the future, with-

without seeing in what other manner I could ever be able to disentangle myself from it. In that manner I had patiently expected what it had pleased Providence to order in relation to the fate of the two parties, without running any of the risks which I was at every instant exposed to from both sides. In that manner I had appropriated to myself the love of the public, which the horror that is conceived against any violent action, never fails to bestow upon him that suffers. In that manner I had found myself, at the end of the troubles, a Cardinal, and Archbishop of Paris, driven away from his see by the party that had publicly joined with the Spaniards, cleared of the faction by my retreat from Paris, and cleared of Mazarinianism by my retreat from Court; and the very worst that could have happened to me from this, was to have been sacrificed by the two parties, in case of a reconcilement and an union against me, and to have been sent as ambassador to Rome, which employment they would have been glad at heart to make me accept of, even upon my own terms, and which to a Cardinal, Archbishop of Paris, can never be a burthen, because there are a thousand occasions in which he may always find room to leave it. I had all these views in my thoughts, greater still, and more extensive than I have set them down here. I stood in no manner of doubt but that they were right and good. And yet I resolved, without hesitating in the least, not to follow them. The interest of my friends, who fancied that I might at last find in the chapter of accidents room to serve and to prefer them, made me immediately consider that they would complain of me if I followed a way that got me out of trouble, and left them in it. I have never repented my shewing a greater regard for their interests than for my own. This conduct was indeed supported by my pride, that could hardly have suffered that the public should have thought that I had yielded meanly to the Prince. I reproach myself with these sentiments, which were however of great weight with me at that time. They were

were both imprudent and weak; for I affirm that there is as much weakneſs as imprudence in ſacrificing a great and ſolid intereſt, to punctilios of glory which is always a vain-glory, when it hinders us from doing things greater than thoſe it propoſes. We muſt own ingenuouſly that nothing but experience can teach men not to prefer what tickles them for the preſent, to what would afterwards afford them a much more real pleaſure: I have made that obſervation an infinite number of times. I return to the parliament.

I will acquaint you in few words with what paſſed there from the 4th to the 13th of July. It had indeed but a very melancholy aſpect, all the Preſidents à Mortier and a great many counſellors having abſented themſelves for fear of the ſeditions, which the fire and the maſſacre at the Town-houſe had not diminiſhed. This ſolitude obliged thoſe that aſſiſted there to put out an arreſt, forbidding that any one ſhould forſake his poſt, to which arreſt little obedience was paid. The aſſemblies at the Town-houſe were, for the ſame reaſon, likewiſe very thin. The Prevoſt-des-Marchands, who had ſaved his life merely by a miracle, the day of the maſſacre, had ceaſed to aſſiſt there. The Mareſchal de l'Hopital kept cloſe and private at home. The Duke of Orleans, in a very thin aſſembly, got choſen in their room, Mr. de Beaufort for governor of Paris, and Mr. Brouſſel for Prevoſt-des-Marchands. The parliament ordered their deputies, who were at St. Dennis, to preſs the Court for an anſwer; and in caſe they could obtain none, to come back to their ſeats in parliament in three days time.

Upon the 13th the deputies wrote a letter to the company, to whom they ſent the King's anſwer in writing. It contained in ſubſtance: That although his Majeſty had room enough to believe that the inſtances made for the removal of Cardinal Mazarin were nothing elſe but pretences, he was willing to give the Cardinal leave to retire from Court, after the neceſſary things for the eſtabliſhing the public quiet had

had been settled, both with the deputies of the parliament, as likewise with those whom the Princes would be pleased to send. The Duke, as well as the Prince, who had found out that the Cardinal never proposed any conferences, but with a design to discredit them with the public, exclaimed at this proposal; the Duke saying warmly, that it was only a trap laid for them, because neither he nor the Prince had any need to send deputies in their own names, confiding altogether, as they did, in those which the parliament had sent. The arrest that was given upon this was conformable to the Duke's speech; and it ordered their deputies to continue their instances for the removal of the Cardinal. The Princess wrote likewise to the President de Nesmond to assure him that they would continue firm to their resolutions of laying down their arms as soon as the Cardinal should be effectually removed.

Upon the 17th the deputies sent word to the parliament that the King had left St. Dennis to go to Pontoise; that he had commanded them to follow him, but that upon their making a difficulty of it, he had ordered them to remain at St Dennis.

Upon the 18th they acquainted the company that they had received a new order from his Majesty, commanding them to go to Pontoise. The company grew very warm at this, and gave out an arrest whereby it was ordered that their deputies should return incessantly to Paris. The Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Condé, and Mr. de Beaufort, went out themselves with twelve hundred horse to fetch them back, to shew the people the great danger they rescued them from.

The Court were not idle on their side. The Privy-council there was every day issuing out arrests that annulled those of the parliament. They declared null and void, all that had been done, that was doing, and that should be afterwards done, in the assemblies at the Town-house; and they even ordered that the money appropriated for the payment of the Town-house

houſe rents, ſhould, for the future, be brought only to the places where his Majeſty ſhould reſide.

The Preſident de Neſmond reported to the company upon the 19th what he and the other deputies had done at Court. This report, which was filled up with objections and anſwers, contained, in effect, no more than what you have ſeen before, except an article of a letter writ by Mr. Servien to the deputies, importing, that in caſe that the Duke and the Prince continued to make a difficulty of ſending deputies in their own name, his Majeſty conſented that they ſhould truſt thoſe of the parliament with their intentions. There were aſſurances in that ſame letter, that the King ſhould remove the Cardinal from his councils, as ſoon as the articles that might be diſputed in the conference ſhould be agreed upon, and that he would not even ſtay to do it till they were executed. The company began a deliberation upon this, which was not ended till the 20th. It was then declared that the King being detained priſoner by Cardinal Mazarin, the Duke of Orleans ſhould be deſired to take upon him the quality of Lieutenant-general to his Majeſty, and that the Prince of Condé ſhould be invited to take in hand the command of the armies for ſo long as the Cardinal ſhould remain in France; that a copy of this arreſt ſhould be ſent to all the parliaments in the kingdom, who ſhould be deſired to give one in conformity to it. The other parliaments had no regard to that prayer, for excepting that of Bourdeaux, there was not one that did ſo much as put the matter into deliberation: contrary to it, that of Britanny had ſuſpended all the arreſts they had before put out, till the Spaniſh troops that were entered into France had entirely evacuated the kingdom. The Duke was not better hearkened to in reſpect to the letters he writ to all the governors of provinces about his new dignity; and he plainly owned to me ſome time after, that not one of them, excepting Mr. de Sourdis, had anſwered his letters. The Court had given them notice of their duty by a

public arreſt given by the upper council, annulling that of the parliament which inveſted the Duke with his new dignity. His authority in reſpect to it was not ſo much as eſtabliſhed in Paris, at leaſt in the manner it ought to have been; for two wretches having been condemned to be hanged on the 23d for ſetting fire to the Town-houſe, the companies of trained-bands that were ordered to ſee the thing done, refuſed to obey.

A general aſſembly was ordered to be held at the Town-houſe upon the 24th, to adviſe about the means of finding money for the ſubſiſtance of the troops, and of ſelling the ſtatues that were at the Cardinal's palace, for a fund to pay the price ſet upon the Cardinal's head.

Upon the 26th the Duke ſaid in the aſſembly of the chambers, that his new dignity of Lieutenant-general requiring that he ſhould have a council to adviſe with, he deſired that company to name two of their own body to be of that board, and that they would likewiſe tell him whether they did not approve that he ſhould deſire the Chancellor to aſſiſt there. The company agreed to it; and even Mr. Bignon, Advocate-general, and the Cato of his age, did not oppoſe it; for he ſaid in his concluſions, which were admired for their ſtrength and eloquence, that the parliament had not given the Duke the quality of Lieutenant-general; but that he might take it of himſelf in the preſent conjuncture, as belonging to him by right of his birth, which naturally eſtabliſhed him the firſt magiſtrate of the kingdom. In proof of this he mentioned Henry the Great, who being firſt Prince of the blood, had taken that quality upon him in a diſcourſe he made in the time of the troubles.

The council for the Duke was ſettled on the 27th, and was compoſed of the Duke himſelf, of the Prince of Condé, of Meſſieurs de Beaufort, de Nemours, de Sully, de Briſſac, de la Rochefoucaut, and de Rohan; of the Preſidents de Neſmond and de Longueil; of

Aubri and l'Archer, Presidents in the chamber of accounts, and of Dorieux and le Noir, Presidents in the court of aids.

It was resolved on the 29th at the Town-house assembly, to raise 800,000 livres for increasing the troops of his Royal Highness, and to write to all the great cities of the kingdom to exhort them to unite with the capital. The King failed not to annul, by arrests of his privy-council, all those of the parliament, and all the deliberations at the Town-house assembly.

I think I have acquitted myself exactly of my promise of troubling you but little with my reflections upon all that passed in the time I have spoken of, and which I have rather touched upon than described. It is not, as you will easily judge, for want of matter, and it is hardly possible to find any, that better deserves to be reflected upon, and that would furnish more reflections. The events are in themselves odd, and uncommon; but as I was not an actor in them, and that I was even but a remote spectator, I fear that if I should enter too far into the detail, I might with my views mix likewise my conjectures; and I have so many times experienced that those that appear the best grounded, are often false, that I think them for that reason unworthy of a history, and chiefly of one which is writ for a person to whom I ought upon so many accounts to say nothing but what is entirely and incontestably true. I will however venture two reflections, which I take to be altogether of that kind.

The one is, that though I cannot explain in particular to you the several springs that gave motion to what you have seen lately acted, because I had no hand in it; I can assure you that the only one that caused the Duke to act so pitifully, was his being persuaded, that every thing running at random as it did, the only way was always to follow the stream: and that the only reason which obliged the Prince to act as he did, was his aversion to a civil war, which fomented and even renewed at every instant,

in the moſt ſecret receſſes of his heart, the hopes he had of putting quickly an end to it by way of negotiation. You muſt obſerve that theſe movements in the Princes had never any intermiſſion; and though I have already mentioned them in particular as the cauſes of ſeveral of their actions which I have explained, I think it is in ſome meaſure neceſſary to mention them again in general, in the courſe of a narration that preſents you at each inſtant with incidents of which you would without doubt be willing to know the reaſons, which I am forced to omit becauſe I know nothing of the particulars.

I have already told you that I had tired the Duke out with my monoſyllables, which I made uſe of deſignedly, and which I left off merely on account of his new dignity of Lieutenant-general to the King. I oppoſed it with all my power, becauſe he forced me to give him my opinion about it. I treated it as an odious, a pernicious, and an uſeleſs thing, and I explained myſelf upon it in ſo clear and plain a manner, as to tell him that I ſhould be extremely ſorry that all the world ſhould not be apprized of my ſentiments in that reſpect, and that any body ſhould believe that thoſe of the parliament over whom I had any power, ſhould be capable of giving their vote for it. I was in that as good as my word, and even Mr. de Caumartin ſignalized himſelf in oppoſing it. I thought myſelf obliged to follow that conduct, in reſpect to the King, to the kingdom, and even to the Duke himſelf. I was convinced, as I am ſtill, that the ſame reaſons which allow in ſome caſes a diſpenſation from a rigid obedience, will ever diſallow the uſurpation of a title, which in reſpect to royal authority is a thing moſt eſſential. To tell you the truth, I acted in this manner becauſe I found myſelf in a condition to maintain, not only my words, but likewiſe my ſteps. The poſture in which I had kept myſelf ſince what had happened at the Town-houſe, had ſeized upon the imagination of people, and had made them believe that I was much

ſtronger than I was in reality. Such a belief is enough to increaſe one's ſtrength. I had experienced it, and had found the advantage of uſing it, as well as of the other means which I met with in abundance in the diſpoſition in which Paris was. That city was every day growing more and more exaſperated at the party of the Princes, by reaſon of the taxes with which it was threatened, of the maſſacre of the Town-houſe which had filled all people's minds with horror, and of the pillage made by the troops, which ſince the fight at the ſuburbs of St. Anthony were incamped in the ſuburbs of St. Victor, where they committed diſorders hardly credible. I made uſe of all thoſe outrages, which I took care to repreſent in a manner that rendered me very agreeable to all that blamed them; and in that manner I was bringing again over to me all the lovers of peace that were not profeſſedly attached to the Cardinal. In following that way my ſucceſs was ſuch, that I found myſelf in a condition to diſpute the ground with every body, and that after having kept three weeks at my houſe on the defenſive, in the cautious manner which I have mentioned, I came out of it with a mighty pomp, notwithſtanding the Romiſh ceremonial. I went every day to the Duke's palace, and I paſſed in the midſt of the troops which the Prince had in the ſuburb, not doubting but that I might confide enough in the people to uſe that conduct ſafely, in which the event at leaſt ſhewed that I was not miſtaken. I return to the parliament.

Upon the 6th of Auguſt, Buchifert, ſubſtitute to the Attorney-general, brought to the aſſembly of the chambers two letters of the King, one directed to the company, and the other to the Preſident de Neſmond, with a declaration from his Majeſty importing the tranſlation of the parliament to Pontoiſe. They had taken that reſolution at Court after they had found that their ſtay at St. Dennis had not prevented the parliament nor the Town-houſe from taking the ſteps which you have ſeen. This news put

the chambers into a mighty commotion. The company went on to deliberate, and it was resolved that the letters and the declaration should be kept at the Rolls, to be duly considered after the Cardinal should be removed out of France. The Parliament of Pontoise, which consisted of fourteen persons, at the head of which were, the Presidents Molé, Novion, and le Coigneux, who some time before were got out of Paris in disguise, made remonstrances to the King, tending to the removal of Cardinal Mazarin. His Majesty granted their demands at the instance even of that good and disinterested minister, who in effect left the Court and retired to Bouillon. This farce, very unworthy of the Royal Majesty, was accompanied with every thing that might render it still more ridiculous. The two parliaments of Paris and of Pontoise put out arrests in which they thundered at one another.

Upon the 13th of August, that of Paris ordered that those that should assist at the assembly at Pontoise should be razed out of their list and register.

Upon the 17th that of Pontoise verified the King's declaration, enjoining to the parliament, to the chamber of accounts, and to the court of aids, that considering the removal of Cardinal Mazarin, they should declare their readiness of laying down their arms, provided his Majesty was pleased to grant an amnesty, to remove his troops from the neighbourhood of Paris, to cause those which were in Guienne to retire, to let the Spanish troops retire in safety, and to give the Princes leave to send to his Majesty about adjusting what matters remained yet unsettled. That parliament gave afterwards an arrest whereby they ordered to return thanks to his Majesty for removing the Cardinal, and to intreat him most humbly to return to his good city of Paris.

Upon the 26th the King caused the parliament at Pontoise to verify the amnesty which he gave to those that had taken up arms against him, but with such restric-

reſtrictions that but few perſons could find their ſafety in it.

Upon the 29th and 31ſt of Auguſt, and upon the 2d of September, nothing hardly was ſpoken of in the aſſembly of the chambers at Paris, but of the refuſal which the Court had made to the Princes of the paſſes which they had aſked for the Mareſchal d'Eſtampes, the Count de Fieſque, and Goulas; and of the King's anſwer to a letter of the Duke of Orleans to his Majeſty. The ſubſtance of that anſwer was: That his Majeſty wondered that the Duke had not conſidered that after the removal of Cardinal Mazarine, he had nothing elſe to do, according to his promiſe and to his declaration, than to lay down his arms, to renounce all manner of aſſociations and treaties, and to cauſe the foreign troops to retire: after which, thoſe that he ſhould ſend him ſhould be very welcome.

Upon the ſecond of September that anſwer of the King's was examined, but the company had not time to finiſh their deliberation. All that they reſolved upon, was, that both the civil and criminal judges of the city of Paris ſhould be forbidden to publiſh any declaration from the King, without the parliament's order. The company came to that reſolution upon notice given them that theſe two judges had received the King's command to publiſh and ſet up in the city, the amneſty that had been verified at Pontoiſe.

Upon the third the company finiſhed their deliberation upon the King's anſwer to the Duke of Orleans's letter. It was agreed that the company ſhould ſend deputies to the King, to return him thanks for the removal of Cardinal Mazarin, and to intreat him to return to his good city of Paris: that the Duke of Orleans and the Prince ſhould be deſired to write to the King, to aſſure his Majeſty that they would lay down their arms as ſoon as it had pleaſed him to ſend the neceſſary paſſes for the retreat of the foreign troops, and an amneſty in due form verified by all

the parliaments of France: that his Majesty should be entreated to receive the deputies of the Princes; that the chamber of accounts and the court of aids of Paris, should be invited to send deputies: that a general assembly should be held at the Town-house; and that letters should be writ to the President de Mesmes, who was likewise retired to Pontoise, desiring him to sollicit for the passes.

Give me leave, I beseech you, to make a pause here, in order to consider with some attention the scandalous and continual illusion with which a minister makes a real jest of the sacred name and word of a great King; and with which, on the other side, the most august parliament of the kingdom, the court of peers, are in a manner making fools of themselves, by acting perpetually in a contradictory manner, more like the levity of a college, than the majesty of a senate. I have sometimes told you that men have no feeling of themselves in these sort of fevers that agitate a state and have something of a phrensy in them. I knew at that time some honest persons that were persuaded of the justice of the Princes cause, enough to have died for it, if it had been necessary. I knew others of a disinterested and consummate virtue, that would have laid down their lives with joy to have defended the cause of the Court. The ambition of great men makes use of these dispositions as it suits with their interest. They are first a help to blind the rest of mankind, after which they blind themselves in a more dangerous manner than they have done others.

Old Mr. de Fontenay, who had been twice ambassador at Rome, who was a man of good sense and of experience, and whose intentions for the state were right and sincere, deplored every day with me the lethargy into which domestic divisions cause even the best citizens to fall.

As to our foreign war, the Archduke retook that year Gravelines, and Dunkirk. Cromwell, without any declaration of war, and with an insolence injuri-

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ous to our crown, took, under I do not know what pretext of repriſal, a great part of the King's ſhips. We loſt Barcelona, all Catalonia, and Caſal, the key of Italy. We ſaw Briſſac under a revolt, upon the point of falling again into the hands of the Houſe of Auſtria. We ſaw Spaniſh colours and ſtandards diſplayed upon the Pont-neuf. The yellow ſcarves of Lorrain appeared in Paris with the ſame freedom, as the Iſabel and blue ones. People were uſing themſelves to theſe ſpectacles, and to the mournful news of ſo many loſſes. This habit which carried terrible conſequences along with it, frightened me, and certainly much more for the ſtate than for my perſon. Mr. de Fontenay, who was touched to the quick with it, and who was even moved to ſee me ſo much concerned, exhorted me to awake from my lethargy; 'in which, ſaid he, you are yourſelf after your own 'mode. For in ſhort, continued he, if you have no 'regard but to your own ſelf, you have choſen the right 'way. But if you conſider upon the condition of 'this capital city, to which you are attached upon 'ſo many accounts, do not you think yourſelf 'obliged to beſtir yourſelf more than you do? You 'are moved by no private intereſt, your intentions 'are good: muſt you, by remaining unactive, cauſe 'the ſtate as much harm, as others do by their moſt 'irregular motions?' Mr. de Seve-chatignonville, whom you have ſeen ſince of the King's council, who was my very particular friend, and a gentleman of great probity, had been making me the like inſtances even with eagerneſs, for five or ſix weeks before. Mr. de Lamoignon, who is now firſt Preſident of the parliament of Paris, and who from his youth has had all the reputation which his great capacity, joined to a virtue nothing inferior to it, has juſtly deſerved, was every day ſpeaking to me after the ſame manner. Mr. de Valencay, counſellor of ſtate, who came not near the others in capacity, but who was, like them, colonel of his ward, came to me every Sunday morning, whiſpering in my ear: 'Save the ſtate, ſave 'the city; I do but wait for your orders.' Mr. de

Roches, chanter of Nôtre-Dame, who was colonel of the Cloyſter, a man of little ſenſe, but whoſe intentions were good, came two or three times a week to ſhed tears with me on the ſame account. What touched me more ſenſibly than all the reſt, was a diſcourſe of Mr. de Lamoignon's, whoſe good ſenſe I valued as much as his probity. 'I ſee, Sir,' (ſaid he one day as he was walking with me in my chamber) 'that with the moſt upright intentions in the world 'you are falling from the love of the public into the 'public hatred. The minds of the people, which in 'the beginning were all for you, have for ſome time 'been divided. You have regained ground by your 'enemies faults: I ſee that you begin to loſe it again. 'The Frondeurs believe that you ſupport Mazarin, 'and the Mazarinians that you ſupport the Frondeurs. I know that this is not true, and I even 'judge that it cannot be true; but what makes me 'afraid for you, is, that it begins to be believed by 'a ſort of perſons, whoſe opinion always forms in 'time the public reputation. Theſe perſons are thoſe 'who are neither Frondeurs nor Mazarinians, and 'who have nothing but the good of the ſtate in view. 'This ſort of perſons can do nothing in the beginning of the troubles; they can do all towards the 'end.' Nothing can be fuller of ſenſe, as you ſee, than this diſcourſe; but as there was nothing in it altogether new to me, and that I had many times before made reflections that came at laſt very near it, it made not near ſo much impreſſion on me, as what he added at laſt. 'Theſe conjunctures, ſaid he, are 'very odd. A wiſe man ought to extricate himſelf 'out of them, with all manner of haſte, and even 'with loſs, becauſe let him govern himſelf never ſo 'wiſely, he muſt, ſo long as he remains in that ſtate, 'run the riſk of loſing all his honour. I doubt much 'whether the Conneſtable de St. Paul * was as guilty,

* Lewis de Luxemburgh, Count de St. Paul, &c. was made conneſtable of France in the year 1456, by King Lewis XI. and was, by that King's order, beheaded at Paris, on the 19th of December 1475.

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'and had as bad intentions, as we are told.' Theſe laſt words, which ſhewed a right and a profound ſenſe, went the deeper in me, becauſe Father Dom Carouges, a Carthuſian, whom I had been to ſee the day before in his cell, had ſaid to me, in relation to the conduct which I followed, 'It is ſo clear, it is ſo 'great, that all thoſe who would not be capable of it 'in the poſt in which you are, fancy that there is a 'myſtery in it: and in troubleſome and unhappy 'times, all that paſſes for myſterious is odious.' I will give you an account of the effect which all theſe diſcourſes had upon my mind, after I have mentioned, as briefly as ever I can, ſome matters that deſerve to be remembered.

I have already told you that the King, after having ſettled his parliament at Pontoiſe, was gone to Compiegne. He could not take along with him Mr. de Bouillon, who died about that time * of a continual fever; but he ordered the Lord Chancellor to come to him, that gentleman being got away from Paris in diſguiſe, becauſe he choſe rather to be of the King's council than of the Duke's, in which indeed he might, if he pleaſed, have found room enough not to have accepted a place. Nothing but his weakneſs can excuſe a ſtep of this nature, in a Chancellor of France; but I am no leſs perſuaded, that nothing but the weakneſs of the government under Cardinal Mazarin, could have reſtored to the head of all the council-boards, and of all the courts of juſtice in the kingdom, a Chancellor that had been capable of taking ſuch a ſtep. One of the greateſt evils which the miniſtry of Cardinal Mazarin has brought upon the kingdom, is his little care of preſerving the dignity of that poſt. The contempt he ſhewed for it was attended with ſucceſs, and that ſucceſs is a greater evil even than the firſt, becauſe it ſerves as a cover and a

* The Duke de Bouillon died at Pontoiſe on the 9th of Auguſt 1652.

palliative to the inconveniencies which ſooner or later will infallibly happen to the ſtate, by reaſon of that contempt which is now turned into an habit.

It was with a pretty deal of difficulty that the Queen, who was naturally haughty, could reſolve upon recalling the Chancellor. But ſhe was forced to ſubmit to the Cardinal, who was the maſter, and to that degree, that when he took a fancy for Mr. de Bullion, into whoſe hands he even intruſted the finances, he anſwered the Queen, who adviſed him not to confide in ſuch a ſort of a man: 'It is pretty indeed, 'Madam, to ſee that you take upon you to adviſe 'me.' I was informed of this particular three days after by Varennes, who had it from Mr. de Bullion himſelf.

I ought not to omit here the death of Mr. de Nemours, who was killed in a duel by Mr. de Beaufort. You may remember what I have told you of their quarrel at Orleans, which was revived by their diſputing who ſhould have the precedency at the Duke's council. Mr. de Nemours forced in a manner Mr. de Beaufort to fight: he was killed upon the ſpot by a piſtol-ſhot in the head. Mr. de Villars, whom you know, was his ſecond, and he killed Hericourt, Mr. de Beaufort's ſecond, and lieutenant of his guards. I return to the Duke of Orleans.

You eaſily judge that the diſorders of Paris did not contribute to put his court in good order. The death of Mr. de Vallois †, which happened on St. Lawrence's day, filled that Court with grief, which is always attended with conſternation, at a time full of trouble and uncertainties. His Royal Highneſs was beſides touched to the quick, by an advice which he received juſt at that time from Madam de Choiſy, of a negotiation of Mr. de Chavigny's with the Court, of which I will by and by give you the particulars. This, added to the news which he received from all parts,

† Son to the Duke of Orleans.

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and which was bad enough in relation to the party, put him in a greater agitation ſtill than he was naturally. Perſan had been obliged to ſurrender Mouron to Palluau, who was made a Mareſchal of France after that expedition. The Count d'Harcourt had had almoſt all along the advantage in Guienne, and Bourdeaux itſelf was divided into ſo many fooliſh parties, that one could hardly rely upon it. Marigny uſed to ſay, pleaſantly enough, that the Princeſs of Condé and Madam de Longueville, the Prince of Conti and Marcin, the parliament, the jurats, and the army, Marigny and Sarraſin, had each of them their factions there. He had begun to write a ſatire, after the manner of that which was written in the time of the League, upon all that he had ſeen tranſacting there, which gave a very ridiculous idea of it. I am not enough acquainted with the particulars of that piece to bring it here as an entertainment for you. All that I can ſay about it is, that what the Duke had heard of it, did not help to quiet his mind in the agitation he was in, nor to perſuade him that the party in which he was engaged was a good one.

Providence, which by ſecret ſprings, unknown even to thoſe that give them a motion, diſpoſes means to their end, made uſe of the exhortations of the gentlemen whom I have named, to induce me to change my conduct, juſt at the time that it found the Duke diſpoſed to change his, and to be led by me in the manner I ſhould direct him. The greateſt difficulty was to perſuade me to alter my ſteps. For though I had in reality no intentions but what were very right and ſincere towards the ſtate, and though I deſired only to come off with ſome ſort of honour, I was willing however to preſerve a certain decorum, which it was very hard to hit rightly on in the preſent conjuncture. I agreed with theſe gentlemen, that it was ſhameful to remain idle, and to ſuffer the capital city, and perhaps the whole kingdom, to periſh; but they likewiſe agreed with me, that ſo great a change as the contributing to the reſtoration of a miniſter, odious

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to the whole kingdom, and in whose removal I had so much distinguished myself, would not be much to my honour. There was no room for any of us to doubt, but that every step we should take towards a peace, would infallibly, though indirectly, produce that effect; because we could not be ignorant that that restoration was the only thing the Queen had in view. Mr. de Fontenay convinced me at last, in a conversation we had together as we were walking one afternoon at the Charter-house: 'You see,' said he to me, 'that Mazarin is but a sort of a Jack in a box, 'who is one day hiding himself, and shewing himself 'the next; but you see likewise, that whether he 'keeps hid or shews himself, the spring that makes 'him appear or disappear, is that of the royal autho- 'rity, which is not like to be so soon broken, consi- 'dering the manner which is taken to break it. 'Even many of those that have appeared the most op- 'posite to Mazarin, would be very sorry to see him 'destroyed. Many others will be very easily com- 'forted to see him saved. There is not one that goes 'in earnest about ruining him thoroughly, and you 'yourself, Sir, do it but weakly, because you meet 'with a great many occasions, in which the terms 'you are upon with the Prince, do not give you leave 'to act against the Court so freely and so fully as you 'would do. From this I conclude, that it is impossible 'that the Cardinal should not be restored, either by 'a negotiation with the Prince, who will carry the 'Duke along with him whenever he pleases to come 'to an accommodation with the Court; or by the 'weariness of the people, who perceive already but 'too clearly, that those of the party of the Princes 'understand neither how to make war nor how to 'make peace. In both these cases, which I look 'upon to be infallible, you must be a great loser. 'For if you don't get out of the briars before the war 'ends by an accommodation between the Prince and 'the Court, it will be hard for you to disintangle 'yourself from an intrigue in which both the Court

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'and the Prince will certainly think of ruining you.
'If the peace proceeds from the wearineſs of the
'people, will you be any thing the better for it?
'And may not that wearineſs, which always carries
'with it the hatred of the people againſt thoſe who
'have been the moſt ſtirring during the faction, alter
'its courſe, and fall heavy upon you for your pru-
'dent way of keeping quiet, as you have done for
'ſome time? Theſe are, in my opinion, the incon-
'veniencies which you may foreſee, but which you
'cannot avoid, except you do it before the civil war
'ceaſes by one of the two means which I have ſpoken
'of. I know that the engagements you are in with
'the Duke, and even with the public, in relation to
'Mazarin, do not permit you to do any thing towards
'his reſtoration; and you know that for that reaſon
'I have declined propoſing any thing to you ſo long
'as he has kept at Court. He is now removed from
'it, and though that removal be only a jeſt and an
'illuſion, it opens however a door to you to enter
'into meaſures which will naturally prove uſeful to
'you. Paris, though in rebellion, paſſionately
'wiſhes for the King's preſence; and thoſe that ſhall
'take the firſt ſteps towards procuring it, will gain
'thereby the affections of the people. I own, that in
'this the people do not conſider what they are wiſh-
'ing for, the King's preſence being likely to bring
'hither Mazarin the ſooner. But however, they wiſh
'for that preſence; and Mazarin being removed
'from Court, thoſe that are the firſt to ſollicit for it,
'will not paſs for Mazarinians. This entirely does
'your buſineſs; for being guided by no private in-
'tereſt, and wiſhing at the bottom nothing but the
'good of the kingdom, and the preſervation of your
'credit with the people, you do the one without ob-
'ſtructing the other. I confeſs, that if it was in
'your power to prevent Mazarin's being reſtored,
'the way I propoſe would agree neither with politics
'nor morality, conſidering that his being reſtored
'ought to be looked upon, for an infinite number

'of

'of reasons, as a public calamity. But taking it for 'granted, as you yourself do, that the ill conduct of 'his enemies has made his restoration infallible, I 'cannot conceive why the view of a thing which you 'cannot prevent, should prevent your getting out of 'the trouble you are in, by a door which opens to 'you a way to honour and liberty. Paris, of which 'you are Archbishop, groans under its load; the 'parliament is now but a mere phantom; the town-'house is a desert; the Duke and the Prince are masters 'only during the pleasure of those of the mob that are 'the maddest; the Spaniards, the Germans, those of 'Lorrain, are in our suburbs, and pillage our very 'gardens. You that are the pastor of this city, and 'that have been its deliverer in two or three occasi-'ons, have been obliged to guard yourself in your 'own house for three weeks together; and you know, 'that even at this day, your friends are concerned 'when you walk the streets without being armed. 'Do you reckon the putting an end to all this misery 'to be nothing? And will you miss the only moment 'which Providence offers you for putting an end glo-'riously to it? The Cardinal, who loves to disap-'point people, may come back to Court when he is 'least expected; and if that should happen, the way 'I propose would be more impracticable to you than 'to any man alive. Don't therefore lose moments 'that ought for a contrary reason to be more precious 'to you than to any other man. Take your clergy 'along with you; go to Compiegne; return your 'thanks to his Majesty for the removal of Mazarin; 'invite him to return to his capital city; act in con-'cert with the gentlemen of the several chambers, 'that are wishing only for the good of the kingdom, 'who are most of them already your particular friends, 'and who look already upon you, by your dignity, 'as their most natural chief, on an occasion which is 'so becoming and so proper to your character. If 'the King comes back to town, the people of Paris 'will owe his return to you; if he refuses to come,

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'they will however think themselves obliged to you
'for your good intentions. If you can but bring the
'Duke to approve of this, you save the whole state,
'because I am persuaded that if he knew but how to
'act his part well on this occasion, he would bring the
'King back to Paris, and keep Mazarin from ever
'returning thither. But supposing that he should re-
'turn in some time, you may prevent the risk which
'I perceive you are in fear of, by reason of the
'people's reproaching you about it, by the employ-
'ment at Rome, which I have heard you several
'times say that you would sooner resolve to accept
'than the having any thing to do here with him.
'You are a Cardinal; you are Archbishop of Paris;
'you have the love of the public; you are but thirty-
'seven years old; save this city, save the state.'
This is the substance of what Mr. de Fontenay said to me, with a rapidity quite opposite to his natural coldness; and it is certain that it moved me: for though he said nothing which I had not already thought upon, as you have seen by the reflections I made when the town-house was set on fire, I felt however a greater emotion at his representing it to me, than at what I had said to myself about it, or what I had heard from others on the same subject.

This deputation of the clergy had been for some time before in agitation between Mr. de Caumartin and me, and we had often been examining, both the manner of performing it, and the consequences it might have. I must do Mr. Joly the justice to say, that he was the first that thought of it, immediately after Cardinal Mazarin's leaving the Court. We all of us together added to the substance of the thing the circumstances which we thought the most useful, and the most necessary. The first, and in every respect the most important, was to bring the Duke to approve at least this conduct; and the disposition which I have already told you he was in, gave us room to believe that we might succeed in our attempt with him. I made use for that effect of the reasons which I knew

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he would like beſt, among thoſe which Mr. de Fontenay had mentioned to me. I added to them the advantages which he would himſelf reap by procuring to the parliament and to the city, an amneſty, good, ſincere, and not fallacious, which he would certainly obtain, if he ſhewed the Court a ſincere deſire of an accommodation. I repreſented to him, that his retreat to Blois, which he had for ſo long a time wiſhed for, being preceded by his care of ſeeking in the peace the ſureties neceſſary both to the public and to every one in particular, could not but be glorious to him, and would ſo much the more appear ſo, that it would be looked upon only as the effect of his firm reſolution of having no manner of hand in reſtoring the miniſter: that my retreat to Rome, which I had reſolved to make before the coming back of the Cardinal, might be attributed to neceſſity; becauſe many perſons would believe that I ſhould be forced to it, by the fear of finding no ſafety for me after his being reſtored: that he was by his birth above ſuch talk and ſuch ſuſpicions; and that if he did for the public before his retreat, what he might certainly do eaſily with the Court, he would remain at Blois, attended but with a very few guards, cheriſhed, reſpected, and honoured, both by Frenchmen and foreigners, and would be even in a condition to take advantage for the good of the ſtate whenever he pleaſed, of all the faults of the ſeveral parties.

I muſt deſire you to obſerve, that at the time that I ſpoke to the Duke in this manner, I was informed by a good hand, that five or ſix days before my laſt converſation with him, he had been under an apprehenſion that I ſhould reconcile myſelf to the Prince. He had ſaid enough, though indirectly, in that converſation, to let me perceive the fear he was in. But Jouy, to whom he had made a full confidence of it, upon ſome advice or other which he had had that Mr. de Briſſac was again buſy about it, had told me that the Duke had cried out, 'If that be true, the 'civil war is to laſt for ever.'. You may be ſure that this

this circumstance did not deter me from trying him, of which I had no reason to repent; for as soon as I had opened the matter to him, he came of himself into every thing I said. He rallied me upon my ceasing to speak nothing but monosyllables, which was a certain sign with him that he approv'd of what I said. He afterwards added to my reasons others of his own, which was another convincing sign of his being pleased. Then in a seeming surprize, as if some sudden thought had but just entered his head, which was always his way, chiefly when he had the thing in his head before; he said to me, 'But what shall 'we do with the Prince?' I answered him, 'Your 'Royal Highness, Sir, ought to consider upon what 'terms you are with him, for honour is preferable to 'every thing. But as I have reason to think that the 'several negotiations that are on foot, are made in 'common between you two, I suppose that there may 'be the like understanding between you in this mat-'ter, as there has been in all the rest.' 'I find you 'jest,' replied the Duke; 'but I am not so much 'embarrassed upon this subject, as you believe. The 'Prince is more impatient to be out of Paris than 'you can be; and he would rather be in the forest 'of Ardenne, at the head of four squadrons, than 'to command millions of such people as we have 'here, without excepting the President Charton.' What the Duke said was true; and Croissi, who was one of the men in the world the least capable of keeping a secret (a defect pretty rare among persons used to great affairs) was every day telling me, that the Prince was consuming with grief, and was so weary of the parliament, the court of aids, the assemblies of chambers, and the town-house, that he often said that his grandfather could never be more so with the ministers of Rochelle.

I found however by what the Duke said to me, that he was seeking for reasons that might satisfy him, in relation to the Prince. But for my own satisfaction I affected to furnish him with none, nor to help

him

him to find out any. I kept myself tied up to my monosyllables upon that particular point, though the Duke did what he could to make me speak more at large, not only upon that subject, but likewise upon the several negotiations which, right or wrong, were always reported to be on foot. All that I did with the Duke was the receiving his orders about my going to wait on the King, which I was forced to digest myself, and to put into a form; this is the substance of what I wrote down. The Duke commanded me to make a general assembly of all ecclesiastical societies, and to cause deputies to be named out of each; to go myself at the head of that deputation to entreat his Majesty to give peace to his people, and to return to his good city of Paris; to try, by means of my friends, to oblige other bodies and corporations to send deputies to the same effect; to let the Court know by means of the Princess Palatine (but without sending any letter that might at least be shewn) that his Royal Highness had been the first promoter of this deputation; to enter however into no particulars relating to a negotiation, till I was myself at Compiegne, where I should tell the Queen, that it was visible that the Duke would not cause, or even suffer the steps that were now taken by the several bodies of the city, except his intentions were very right and very sincere; that he was for a peace, and was so from the bottom of his heart; that his public engagements against Cardinal Mazarin had not given him leave to conclude it, or even to begin it, so long as he staid at Court; but now that he was gone from it, he passionately wished to convince her Majesty that nothing but that obstacle had prevented his going heartily about that work: that he made use of me to declare to her Majesty that he renounced all personal interest, either in respect to himself or to any of his party; that all he asked was in respect only to the public safety, which might be done by explaining only some articles of the amnesty, and giving a form to the whole, which would prove by the event to be as much for

for the ſervice of the King, as for the ſatisfaction of particular perſons; that as ſoon as he had had the pleaſure to ſee the King at the Louvre, he would retire to Blois with as much joy as readineſs, with an intent to think upon nothing elſe than to live quiet, and to mind the good of his ſoul; and that all that ſhould be done afterwards at Court ſhould be no longer upon his account, provided they would be pleaſed not to charge him with it, but would leave him in his ſolitude, where he very ſincerely promiſed to remain. This laſt paragraph was, as you ſee, a ſubſtantial one. The Duke added to his inſtruction a preciſe and particular order to aſſure the Queen, that if the Prince was not content with the liberty of remaining quiet in his government, with the full enjoyment of all his penſions and all his places, he would forſake him. As I was repreſenting to him, that to my thinking he might and ought even to ſoften that expreſſion; 'No falſe generoſity,' replied he, in an angry tone; 'I know what I ſay, and ſhall 'be able to maintain and juſtify it.'

This is preciſely what paſſed between the Duke and me; after which I left him. I executed his orders literally; in doing which I met with no manner of obſtruction, except from thoſe which I ought not to have expected it from. What I am going to relate is incredible. After I had taken all the previous meaſures neceſſary to an affair of this nature, I ſent either Argenteuil or Joly (I don't well remember which) to the Princeſs Palatine, to confer with her about it. She approved of it entirely; but ſhe wrote me word, that if I really deſired that it ſhould ſucceed, that is, that it ſhould procure the King's coming back to Paris, it was neceſſary that I ſhould ſurprize the Court; becauſe that if I ſhould give them time there to conſult the oracle, his anſwer would be only ſuch as the prieſts of the idols ſhould inſpire and dictate to him: 'And 'theſe prieſts,' added ſhe by way of cypher (for we had one which we never thought could have been decyphered) 'had rather that the whole temple ſhould 'periſh,

'periſh, than to ſuffer you to lay a ſingle ſtone for 'the repairing of it.' She aſked only for five days time to write herſelf to the Cardinal about it, and ſhe managed him ſo well, that he was in a manner forced to give his conſent to my propoſals, and to write to the Queen that ſhe ought at leaſt to receive my deputation favourably.

As ſoon as the Telliers, the Serviens, the Ondedeis, and the Fouquets, had notice of it, they oppoſed it with all their power, ſaying, that it could only be a trap which I had prepared for the Court to fall into; that if I had had right and ſincere intentions, I had begun by a negotiation, and not by a propoſal, which would either oblige the King to come back to Paris before he had taken ſufficient meaſures for his ſafety, or draw upon him the complaints of the whole city for his not coming. The Princeſs Palatine, who thought herſelf ſufficiently ſtrong, by having in hand the Cardinal's order, anſwered them, that it would not be poſſible for me to act otherwiſe than I did, ſuppoſing that my intentions were never ſo ſincere; becauſe it was much leſs ſafe for me to expoſe myſelf to a negotiation, in which I might meet with a thouſand ſnares, than to a deputation, of which the worſt that could happen could only be my having ſhewn a good intention, which had proved unſucceſsful. Ondedei pretended that the only end of my propoſal was the liberty of coming ſafely to receive the hat from the King's hands. To that the Princeſs anſwered, that that was but a mere ceremony, which I looked upon, as it was true, with the greateſt indifference poſſible. Then came on the Abbot Fouquet, who alledged, that the correſpondences he had in Paris were ſufficient to bring the King back there in a little time, without being obliged to perſons who propoſed to recall him with no other view than to be in a better condition to oppoſe him afterwards. Meſſieurs le Tellier and Servien, who had at firſt ſided with the others, came over at laſt to the Princeſs, moved to it, as well by her ſolid way of reaſoning,

reasoning, as by the Cardinal's order; and the Queen, who had kept the Abbot Charrier, whom I had sent to her for passes, three whole days at Compiegne, even since she had promised them, granted them at last, even with an addition of many civilities for me. I began my journey as soon as I had the passes, having with me the deputies of all the ecclesiastical bodies of Paris, and near 200 gentlemen, of which number fifty were of the Duke's guards. I was informed at Senlis, that they had resolved at Court not to lodge my train there; and Bautru, who was himself of the number, having taken that opportunity to get out of Paris, whose gates were kept shut, told me that he would not advise me to appear at Court with so great a retinue. I answered him, that I could hardly believe that he would advise me to go thither accompanied only by curates, canons, and monks, when the country was filled with soldiers of all parties. He owned that I was in the right, and he went himself before to inform the Queen of the reasons I had to go accompanied by that retinue, which people had taken care to increase in a very ridiculous manner. All that he could obtain was lodgings only for 80 horse, and you must observe that I had 112 belonging only to the coaches. I only laughed at these silly manners; but what gave me some umbrage was, that I did not meet in my way the detachment of life-guards, which in those days used to meet Cardinals the first time they made their appearance at Court. My distrust would have turned into fear, if I had known what I was told at my return to Paris; that the cause why this honour was not paid me, was their being yet unresolved what they should do with my person; some maintaining that I ought to be arrested, others, that it was necessary to have my life taken away; and others saying, that the violating the public faith on this occasion would be attended with too many inconveniencies. Prince Thomas of Savoy caused Father Senault of the Oratory to tell my father, the very day that I returned to Paris, that he had been

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of this last opinion; that he would name no body; but that there were people in the world that were great villains. The Princess Palatine did not inform me that they had carried the matter so far; but she told me, the very next day after my arrival there, that she had rather have me at Paris than at Compiegne. The Queen however received me very well, and spoke angrily in my presence to the exempt of the guards for missing me upon the road, by losing his way, as she said, in the forest. The King gave me the cap the next morning, and audience in the afternoon. I made him a speech, which is printed.

The King's answer was civil, but in general terms only, and it was even with difficulty that I could get a copy of it*. - - - - - - - - - - - - -

This is what appeared publicly of my journey to Compiegne; I will now tell you what passed in secret.

I told the Queen, in the private audience which she gave me in her closet, that I was come to Compiegne, not only as a deputy of the church of Paris, but that I had another deputation, which I valued much more than the first, because I thought it much more advantageous to her service: that this second was the being sent as an envoy from the Duke, who had commanded me to assure her Majesty, that he had taken the resolution to serve her sincerely, effectually, readily, and speedily. At this last word I shewed her a billet, signed by the Duke, that contained the very words I had spoken. The first movement of the Queen expressed an extraordinary joy, and, in my opinion, it was more to that joy than to any art she used (notwithstanding what people have been pleased to say since) that the following words which she spoke to me were owing: 'I knew, Sir, that the Cardinal de Retz 'would give me at last some marks of the affection he 'has for me.' As I was just entering into discourse with her, Ondedei scratched at the door; and as I

* There are here some lines scratched out in the manuscript.

was

was rising from my seat to open it, the Queen took hold of my arm, and said, 'Stay here for me.' She went out and staid with Ondedei almost a quarter of an hour, and at her coming back, she told me that he had brought her a packet from Spain. She appeared to me embarrassed and altered in her manner of speaking, beyond what I can express. Bluet, whom I have mentioned to you before, has since told me, that Ondedei, who had been informed that I had asked a private audience of her Majesty, came to interrupt it, by acquainting her that he had received an order from the Cardinal to entreat her to forbear granting me any such audience, which would only serve to give a jealousy to her faithful servants. This Bluet has swore to me more than once, that he had seen the original of that order in the hands of Ondedei, who received it but just at the time that I was locked up with the Queen in the closet. 'Tis certain, that when she came back to me, I observed that she carried me near a window, whose glass came down to the floor, and that she placed me in a manner that it was easy for all those that stood in the Court to see us both. What I am relating to you is pretty odd, and I should hardly have believed it, if all that I observed afterwards had not convinced me that there was such a general distrust of one another amongst all at Compiegne, that one must have seen it to imagine it. Messieurs Servien and le Tellier hated one another exceedingly. Ondedei was spy to both, and so he was to all the world. The Abbot Fouquet aspired to the honour of being spy in second. Bertet, Bracher, Ciron, and the Mareschal du Plessis, had each their several shares. The Princess Palatine had given me the particular map of Compiegne, but I own that I could not have imagined that it was so exactly drawn as I found it. The Queen, however, notwithstanding Ondedei's order, could not help expressing her joy and her gratitude to me: 'But,' said she, 'as 'private conversations would but occasion people to 'talk more than is convenient to the Duke and to

'yourſelf by reaſon of the meaſures which ought to be 'preſerved with the public; ſee the Princeſs Palatine, 'and agree with her at what time you may confer in 'ſecret with Servien.' Bluet told me afterwards that Servien was the man whom Ondedei had pointed out to her for this conference, becauſe he had appeared the moſt diſaffected to me; but that Servien, who was afraid of ſome ill offices from the ſubalterns, had refuſed to enter into any private negotiation with me, except he had for his colleague, or rather for a witneſs to his behaviour, Mr. le Tellier: 'Who would 'not fail otherwiſe, ſaid he to the Queen, to inſinu-'ate to the Cardinal by ſome way or other that I am 'entering into meaſures to his prejudice with the 'Cardinal de Retz; and 'tis for that reaſon, Madam, 'that I moſt humbly intreat your Majeſty, that Mr. 'le Tellier may aſſiſt at the conference.' I know nothing of what I am now writing about, but by the means of Bluet, who indeed was a pretty good author in reſpect to theſe little particulars, being an intimate of Ondedei's. What makes me believe that he had not invented this, is that I really found at the Princeſs Palatine's, where I went between eleven and twelve at night, Mr. le Tellier, with Mr. Servien, at which I was pretty much ſurprized, becauſe I had ſome ground to believe that le Tellier was not over well affected to me. The ſequel will ſhew you the reaſons which I had to diſtruſt him.

It appeared to me that theſe gentlemen had already been informed by the Queen of what I was to propoſe to them, of which this is the ſubſtance: That the Duke was ſincerely reſolved to conclude a peace, and that to convince the Queen of the ſincerity of his intentions, he had been willing, againſt all common rules uſed in politicks, to begin rather with deeds than with words: that perhaps the moſt efficacious and ſubſtantial proof that he could have given of it was ſuch a ſolemn deputation as that from the whole church of Paris; which deputation was reſolved upon and executed, in the ſight of the Prince, and of the Spaniſh troops

troops lodged in the ſuburbs; and that he offered, without heſitating, negotiating, or aſking either directly or indirectly, for any private advantage, to declare himſelf againſt all thoſe who ſhould oppoſe the peace, or the King's returning to Paris; provided he ſhould be impowered to promiſe the Prince that he ſhould be left at peace in his governments, upon condition that the Prince, on his ſide, ſhould renounce all manner of aſſociations with foreigners; and provided that they would put out an amneſty, full, entire, and in no manner captious; which amneſty ſhould be verified by the parliament of Paris.

It was hard to imagine that a propoſal of this nature ſhould not have been, I don't ſay accepted, but applauded; becauſe, ſuppoſing even that it had not been ſincere, which they might ſuſpect, according at leaſt to their corrupt maxims, yet they might have received advantages from it in more than one manner. What made me judge that their reaſon for rejecting it, was not their diſtruſting me, but their diſtruſting one another, was their looking for a long while upon one another, expecting who ſhould ſpeak firſt. The ſequel of the conference, but chiefly a certain air which cannot be expreſſed, ſhewed me more than ſufficiently that I was not miſtaken in my conjectures. I could get from them words only, without any meaning; and the Princeſs Palatine, who, though very well verſed in that Court, was ſurprized at it to the laſt degree, owned to me the next morning that I was right in many of my conjectures. 'But, ſaid ſhe to me, I am 'reſolved at all events, if you agree to it, to ſpeak to 'them as if I was perſuaded that the diſtruſt they have 'of you is the only cauſe which hinders them from 'acting like men; for 'tis certain, continued ſhe, 'that what I ſaw of them laſt night, had nothing of 'man in it.' I conſented to it, provided ſhe ſpoke only of herſelf; for after what had appeared to me of their way of acting, I thought not fit to go ſo far as I had reſolved, or as my inſtructions impowered me. The Princeſs made it up of her own ſelf. She told

the Queen not only what had paſſed at her houſe the night before, but what might have paſſed if it had pleaſed the two ſub-miniſters. In ſhort, ſhe aſſured the Queen, that if what I propoſed was granted, the Duke would forſake the Prince, and would retire to Blois, and would afterwards meddle with nothing, whatever happened. That was the eſſential point which ought to have decided all. The Queen took it right, and had a right ſenſe of it. But all the ſubalterns undertook to make it paſs only for a ſnare, by ſaying to her, that the Duke made this ſhew only to draw the King to Paris, and to keep him there, whilſt he was ingratiating himſelf the more with the people, by the honour he aſſumed of the King's return, which was very agreeable to the public; and by the back-door which it was viſible he reſerved to himſelf, by his not explaining his mind in relation to Cardinal Mazarin. I have already obſerved that I plainly ſaw that what they alledged was not ſo much the effect of any diſtruſt they had upon a point which the ſtate of things had begun to clear ſufficiently, as of the fear they had each of them in particular of making any advances which the reſt might have interpreted to their prejudice with the Cardinal. For it is eaſy to judge that if the conduct which they followed on this occaſion had proceeded from the diſtruſt, which they took care to infuſe into the Queen, they would have looked out for means that might have prevented their falling into the ſnares they would have been afraid of, and which, on the other hand, might have contributed to keep the minds of people from growing more incenſed, and affairs more imbroiled, at a time when it was ſo neceſſary to appeaſe the one, and bring the other to rights. The event, which proved favourable to the Court, did indeed juſtify their conduct, and I know that the miniſters have ſaid ſince, that they were ſo well aſſured of the diſpoſition of Paris, that they had no need of theſe precautions. You ſhall yourſelf judge of it by what followed; but before I go upon it you muſt give me leave to take notice of two or three

circumſtances, which, though of no great moment, will repreſent the ſtate which all theſe profeſſed ſpies whom I have mentioned, put the Court into.

The Queen was ſo ſubmiſſive to them, and was ſo much afraid of their reports, that ſhe intreated the Princeſs Palatine to tell Ondedeï, without any affectation, that ſpeaking to her, ſhe had made great railleries of me; and her Majeſty herſelf told Ondedeï, that I had aſſured her that the Cardinal was an honeſt man, and that I had no pretenſions to his place. I can aſſure you, in my turn, that I had not ſaid any ſuch fooliſh words to the Queen. Neither did her Majeſty forget to make her court to the Abbot Fouquet, in joining with him to turn the great expence which this journey coſt me, into ridicule. I muſt own that for the little time it laſted that expence was immenſe. I kept ſeven tables ſerved at the ſame time, which coſt me 800 crowns a-day. But what is neceſſary is never ridiculous. The Queen told me, when I received her orders, that ſhe thanked the Duke, to whom ſhe thought herſelf much obliged; that ſhe hoped he would contribute all that was neceſſary for the King's return; that it was her requeſt to him; and that ſhe would not take one ſtep without concerting it with him. I anſwered her, that in my opinion it would be requiſite to begin immediately: but ſhe broke off the diſcourſe.

I had wherewithal to comfort myſelf of the Abbot Fouquet's railleries, by the manner in which I was received at Paris. I met there at my return with an incredible applauſe, and I went directly to the Duke's palace, where I gave his Royal Highneſs an account of my negotiation. I put him into a mighty ſurprize; he fell into a paſſion; he railed at the Court; he went twenty times into the Ducheſs's apartment, and came back to me twenty times. At laſt he ſaid to me haſtily: 'The Prince is reſolved to go; the Count de 'Fuenſaldagne writes him word that he is ordered to 'deliver up into his hands the whole Spaniſh forces, 'but we muſt not ſuffer him to go. Theſe people

'will come to Paris and cut our throats. The Court 'must hold intelligences here, which we are not 'aware of. Could they act in the manner they do, if 'they were not conscious of their own strength?'

This was one of the shortest periods of a discourse which lasted above an hour. I let him go on without interrupting him, and I even answered his questions only with monosyllables. At last he grew impatient, and commanded me to give him my opinion, saying, 'I forgive you your monosyllables, when I act to 'please the Prince, contrary to your advice. But 'when I follow your advice, as I have done on this 'occasion, I will have you speak out and explain 'yourself.' 'It is my duty, Sir, answered I, to 'speak always in that manner to your Royal High-'ness, whatever advice you are pleased to follow. I 'do not disown the advice I have given on this occa-'sion; far from it, I don't repent of it, notwithstand-'ing the event. Fortune disposes of that, but For-'tune has nothing to do with good sense. My sense 'of things may be less right than that of others, be-'cause I want their ability. But for this time I hold 'my advice to have been as good as if it had succeed-'ed, and it will be no hard matter to me to convince 'your Royal Highness of it.' The Duke interrupted me here, even hastily; and he said to me, 'You have 'mistaken my meaning; I know that we have acted 'reasonably. But it is not enough, as the world 'goes, to have reason of one's side, chiefly when the 'thing is past. The question is, what we must now 'do? We are going to be trampled upon, and you 'see as well as I, that they are not so blind at Court 'as to act in the manner they do there, except they 'had either made their accommodation with the Prince, 'or were masters of Paris without me.' The Dutchess, who was impatient to know how this scene would end, came at this word into the library where we were, and to say the truth, I was very glad of it, because that when she was not prepossessed she judged always right, though she had but a mean understanding.

The Duke continuing to command me in her presence to speak my opinion, I begged leave of him to set it down in writing, which was always the best way with him, because his vivacity made him at every instant interrupt the thread of the discourse spoken to him. I give you here a copy of what I wrote down, transcribed from the original, which I met with by great chance.

'I think that his Royal Highness ought to take it 'for granted that the haughtiness of the Court pro- 'ceeds less from the knowledge they have there of 'their strength, than of the confusion which the 'absence of the Cardinal, and the multitude of agents 'they have there, puts them into two or three times in 'a day. But as part of our present discussion ought to 'be grounded upon that principle, it is not just that 'his Royal Highness should believe me upon my bare 'word. Which after all is itself grounded only upon 'what I think that I have discovered at Compiegne, 'and in which I may consequently be mistaken. For 'that reason I intreat his Royal Highness to begin by 'having that point cleared, and by being satisfied 'whether what I think I have discovered is well 'grounded. To explain myself better, I would have 'him be satisfied whether the haughtiness which I 'fancy I have observed in the Court is really true, 'and whether it proceeds from the confusion which I 'have mentioned, or from the diffidence and the aversion 'they have there for my person. His Royal Highness 'may be satisfied upon that point in two days time, 'by means of Mr. Damville, and by means of those 'gentlemen that belong to his Royal Highness, that 'are more agreeable to the Queen than I. If I have 'been mistaken, I see nothing new that ought to 'hinder him from pursuing his point, and going on 'with the peace as he had resolved before by making 'use of persons that are like to be heard at Court 'more favourably than I. If I am right in my con- 'jecture, the question is whether his Royal Highness 'ought to change his thoughts, to think no longer of 'an accommodation, and to make war effectually,

'running the risk of all that may happen; or whether 'he ought to sacrifice himself to the public repose 'and tranquillity. Those who receive his Royal High-'ness's command to speak their sentiments on this 'occasion, are much embarrassed, because their fate 'must be, to pass either for men of a factious spirit, 'who seek to render the civil war eternal; or for 'traitors, that sell their party; or for idiots, that 'treat of matters of state in the closet of Princes, as 'they would do of cases of conscience in the Sor-'bonne. And the misfortune is that it will be 'neither their good or their ill conduct, nor their 'good or evil intentions, which will either give 'them those denominations, or preserve them from 'those titles. All will depend on fortune, or even 'on their enemies conduct. This observation 'shall not prevent me from speaking to his Royal 'Highness on this occasion, with the same liberty that 'I should use, supposing that I was nothing concerned 'in the matter, and that I did not find myself in a 'conjuncture where I am sure that nothing good can 'be said, for the same reason that nothing good can 'be done. His Royal Highness has in my opinion, 'as I have already said, but two ways to follow, sup-'posing that the Court is in the disposition I believe 'them to be in. These two ways are, either to yield 'to whatever they please there, and to suffer their 'coming back to Paris by their own means, without 'thinking themselves obliged to his Royal Highness 'for it, and without giving the publick any manner 'of surety; or to oppose their return with courage 'and with vigour, and to oblige them, by a strong 'and bold resistance, to enter into a treaty and to 'pacify the state by the same means which have been 'always sought for at the end of civil wars. If the 'respect I owe his Royal Highness gave me leave to 'count myself for any thing in so great an affair as 'this, I should take the liberty to tell him, that the 'first way would serve my purpose, because it would 'lead me (perhaps amidst some murmurs which would

'at

'at first be raised against me) to the post which I am 'persuaded would be no ill one for me. The Fron- 'deurs would at first say that my counsels would have 'been but weak. Pacifick men, whose number is 'always the greatest at the end of civil wars, would 'say that they had been both wise and honest. I 'should above all remain a Cardinal and Archbishop 'of Paris, though perhaps removed to Rome, but 'removed only for a time, and even during that time 'in the greatest post there. The event would oblige 'politicians to look upon me with the same eye as 'pacifick men. The heat against Mazarin would 'either be extinguished, or laid asleep by his being 'restored. The murmurs raised at first against me 'would be forgotten, or would be only remembered 'to occasion people's saying still the more that I am 'an able and a gallant man for withdrawing myself 'so cleverly out of an ill step. This is the manner in 'which the world treats private persons, in respect to 'reputation. It is otherwise with Princes, because 'their birth and elevation being always more than 'sufficient to save from shipwreck their person and 'their fortune, their reputation is thereby the more 'exposed. Supposing that his Royal Highness suffers 'the parliament to be removed, the assemblies of the 'town-house to be interdicted, the canons of the ca- 'thedral to be forcibly taken away, half of the 'sovereign courts to be exiled; people will not say: "What could he have done to have helped it? The "attempting any thing would perhaps have proved "his ruin." They will say: "It was in his power "to have helped it; the thing was easy if he had had "but the will." It may be objected for the same 'reason, that supposing that his Royal Highness makes 'a peace, that he retires to Blois, and that Cardinal 'Mazarin is restored; people will say the like of him. 'But I maintain that in this last case, there will be a 'vast, nay an entire difference from the first; because 'as to the return of Mazarin, after a peace made by 'his Royal Highness, the people may easily think that

'his Royal Highneſs had not foreſeen it; but if his 'Royal Highneſs ſuffers the Court to return without 'his leave, it cannot be ſaid that he has not foreſeen 'all the evil that will enſue to Paris perhaps to-'morrow, if he does not oppoſe it. I fear the return 'of Cardinal Mazarin for the body of the ſtate. I 'ſhould not fear it, at leaſt for the preſent, in relation 'to Paris. Neither his temper nor his intereſt, would 'carry him to revenge himſelf upon this city, and 'there would, in my opinion, be leſs danger in 'reſpect to that, by his preſence now at Court, than 'by his abſence from it. What makes me tremble 'for Paris, is the animoſity which is natural to the 'Queen, the violence of Servien, the hardneſs of le 'Tellier, the paſſion of the Abbot Fouquet, the 'madneſs of Ondedeï. All that this pack of men 'are like to adviſe in the firſt inſtants of a reduction, 'all that they will execute, will be charged to his 'Royal Highneſs's account, whilſt he himſelf is either 'ſtill at Paris, or juſt getting out of it. But no ſuch 'thing will happen if his Royal Highneſs comes to 'a reaſonable treaty with the Court, wherein he takes 'care jointly with the parliament and other bodies, 'to take all poſſible ſureties, agreeable to an affair of 'this nature; for after ſuch a treaty, and after his 'Royal Highneſs's being retired to Blois, every thing, 'and even the return of the Cardinal, would be 'wholly charged to the account of the Court, and 'would turn to the clearing and even to the honour 'of his Royal Highneſs. Theſe are my thoughts as 'to the firſt way, and here follow my reflections upon 'the ſecond, which is that of continuing, or rather 'renewing the war.

'It is, in my opinion, what his Royal Highneſs 'can no longer do, but by keeping the Prince near 'him. The Court has gained a great deal of ground 'in the provinces, chiefly in thoſe places where the 'heat of the parliaments is grown much cooler. Paris 'itſelf is not now near ſo zealous as it was; and 'though it is far from being ſo much relaxed as ſome

'would

'would perſuade the Court, it is certain, that it is 'neceſſary to ſupport peoples ſpirits there, and that 'moments begin even to become precious. The 'perſon of the Prince is not beloved there; his 'birth, his troops, his valour, are ſtill there of the 'ſame weight. In ſhort, if his Royal Highneſs 'follows the ſecond way, the firſt ſtep he ought to 'take is to make himſelf ſure of the Prince his 'couſin. The ſecond ſtep, in my opinion, is to 'ſpeak his mind publickly and without delay, in the 'parliament, and at the town-houſe, and to declare 'his reaſons for continuing the war; to mention there 'the advances which he has made to the Court by 'my means, and the deſign they have reſolved upon 'there to return to Paris without giving any ſureties, 'either to the Sovereign Courts, or to the city; to 'mention the reſolution which his Royal Highneſs 'has taken to oppoſe the Court with all his might, 'and to treat as enemies all thoſe who ſhall hold 'directly or indirectly any correſpondence there. The 'third ſtep is, in my opinion, to execute theſe decla- 'rations with vigour, and to enter into war, as if his 'Royal Highneſs was never to think again of a peace. 'The power which his Royal Highneſs has with the 'people makes me believe without the leaſt doubt, 'that all that I have here propoſed is poſſible; but 'I muſt add, that it will ceaſe to be ſo, the moment 'that his Royal Highneſs ſhall ceaſe to make uſe of 'all his authority, becauſe the contrary ſteps which he 'has ſuffered to be made towards the Court, have 'rendered thoſe that are now neceſſary, more difficult. 'It is his Royal Highneſs's buſineſs to conſider what 'he may expect or what he may fear from the Prince; 'how far he is willing to engage with foreigners; 'what meaſures he will take with the parliament and 'with the town-houſe; for except he comes to a fixed 'reſolution upon all theſe points, with a firm deſign 'of not departing from it; except he reſolves to reject 'for the future thoſe mediums whereby he pretends to 'reconcile things contradictory and impoſſible, his

'Royal Highneſs will again fall into all the inconve-
'niencies in which he has ſeen himſelf, and which he
'will find more dangerous beyond compariſon, than
'in time paſt, becauſe the ſtate in which things are,
'will render them deciſive. It does not belong to me
'to decide upon a matter of this importance; I leave
'it to his Royal Highneſs to take his reſolution.
'*Sola mihi obſequio gloria relicta eſt.*'

This I writ haſtily, and without ſtopping, upon the table of the library of the Duke's palace. His Royal Highneſs read it with great attention, and carried it to the Dutcheſs. The ground-work of it was examined all the evening long, but without coming to any reſolution by reaſon of the Duke's continual heſitating, without ever coming to a choice.

At my coming from this conference, I found Mr. de Caumartin at the Preſident de Bellievre's, who had cauſed his people to remove him to a houſe in the ſuburb of St. Michael, by reaſon of a defluxion he had on one eye. I told Mr. de Caumartin the ſubſtance of what I had writ down at the Duke's. He chid me for it, and ſaid: 'I cannot imagine what is
'your meaning; for you expoſe yourſelf to the hatred
'of both parties, by ſpeaking the truth too openly of
'them both.' 'I know (replied I to him) that I go
'againſt politicks, but I act agreeably to morality,
'which I value more than the other.' 'Nay, ſaid the
'Preſident de Bellievre, even according to politicks,
'the Cardinal de Retz is in the right, conſidering the
'ſtate in which affairs are. There is ſo much uncer-
'tainty in them, chiefly in reſpect to his Royal High-
'neſs, that a wiſe man ought not to take upon him to
'determine any thing.'

Two hours after this, the Duke ſent for me to Madam de Pomereux's, where I was, and I found a page at the gate of his palace waiting to tell me, that his Royal Highneſs deſired that I would go to the Dutcheſs's apartment, and ſtay for him there. He was unwilling that I ſhould go to the library, where he was ſhut up with Goulas, whom he was queſtioning upon

upon the subject you shall now see. He came to me some time after, and said: 'You were this day saying, 'that the first step I ought to take in case I resolve 'upon continuing the war, is to make myself sure of 'the Prince: but how the devil can I do it?' 'You 'know, Sir,' replied I, 'that in the terms I am in 'with his Highness, I cannot answer your question. 'Your Royal Highness ought to consider how far your 'power extends in this case.' 'How would you have 'me know it? (continued he); Chavigny has almost 'finished a treaty with the Abbot Fouquet. Do you 'remember what Madam de Choisy has lately told me 'upon that subject in general terms? I have been now 'informed of all the particulars. The Prince swears 'that he knows nothing of the matter, and that Cha-'vigny is a traitor; but who can tell whether that be 'true?' These particulars were, That Chavigny was treating with the Abbot Fouquet, and that he promised to use his utmost efforts with the Prince to oblige him to come to an accommodation with Mazarin upon reasonable terms. A letter from the Abbot Fouquet to Mr. le Tellier, which was intercepted by a party of Germans, and carried to Mr. de Tavanne's, justified the Prince fully in respect to Chavigny's negotiation; for it imported in express words, That in case the Prince would not submit to reason, Chavigny engaged his word to the Queen, that he would leave nothing undone to set him at variance with the Duke.

The Prince, who had the original of that letter in his hands, carried his passion against Chavigny to a great extremity, and called him traitor, speaking to himself. Overcome by grief at this, Chavigny went home to bed, and never rose from it afterwards. Mr. de Bagnols, who was his friend as well as mine, came to desire me to go and see him. I found him without the use of his senses, and I paid to his family what I would have paid to his person. I remember that Mademoiselle du Plessis Guenegaut was in his chamber, where he died two or three days after.

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Much about that time the Duke of Guiſe * came from Spain, where he had been detained priſoner, and did me the honour to come and viſit me the very next day after his arrival. I intreated him that he would, in regard to me, moderate the ſharp complaints he made againſt Mr. de Fontenay, by whom he pretended to have been ill uſed at the time of the revolution at Naples, Mr. de Fontenay being then Ambaſſador at Rome. He yielded to my inſtances with a civility worthy of the great name he bore.

I had all along reſerved to treat in this place of the affair of Briſſac, which I have juſt touched upon in the ſecond volume of theſe Memoirs, becauſe it was likewiſe much about this time that the Prince d'Harcourt quitted the army and the ſervice of the King, to throw himſelf into that important place. But as it has not been poſſible for me to find a relation extremely fine and ſincere, which I had of it, and which was writ by an officer of the garriſon, who was a man of ſenſe and honour, I rather chuſe to paſs by the particulars, and I content myſelf to tell you in general that the good genius of France defended and ſaved the honour of that crown in that important and famous poſt, in ſpight of all the imprudences of the Cardinal, and of the infidelities of Madam de Guebriant, by the good intentions of Charlevoix, and by the uncertainties of the Count d'Harcourt †. I return to my narration.

The irreſolution of his Royal Highneſs was of a ſpecies altogether ſingular. It often hindered him from acting, at the time that acting was the moſt neceſſary, and it put him ſometimes upon acting, when it was moſt

* Henry de Lorrain, ſecond of the name, born in 1614. He went in 1647 to the aſſiſtance of thoſe who had rebelled at Naples, where, after he had behaved himſelf to admiration, he was taken priſoner by the Spaniards, who kept him in their hands till about this time. In 1654 he went, for the ſecond time, on an expedition to Naples, and he died in 1664. We have his Memoirs, which are eſteemed.

† The Count d'Harcourt was at that time Governor of Alſatia, of which he formed the deſign of making himſelf Sovereign.

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neceſſary to remain quiet. I attribute both theſe effects to his irreſolution, becauſe they both proceeded, as I have obſerved, from the different and oppoſite views he had, which made him believe that he might make a ſerviceable uſe to himſelf, though in different manners, either of acting or not acting, according as he was moved by theſe oppoſite and different views. But methinks I explain myſelf but ill, and that you will underſtand me better, by expoſing to your view the faults which I pretend to have been the effect of that irreſolution. I propoſed to the Duke upon the firſt or the ſecond of September, to go ſincerely about making a peace, and I repreſented to him that nothing was of greater importance than the keeping this deſign entirely hid from the Court itſelf, for the reaſons you have ſeen before, to which the Duke agreed. Upon the 5th, there was an aſſembly held at the town-houſe, which the Prince himſelf procured, to make the people believe that he did not oppoſe the King's return, and it was the Preſident de Neſmond, at leaſt as I have been told ſince, who perſuaded him that that demonſtration was neceſſary: I have never remembered to ſpeak to him about it. It was reſolved in that aſſembly, to ſend a ſolemn deputation to the King to intreat him to return to his good city of Paris. This was not at all agreeable to the Duke's deſign, who having reſolved, as I have already ſaid, to gain to himſelf the honour and the merit of the deputation of the Clergy, at the head of which I was to go, ought not to have ſuffered that the city ſhould be before-hand with him; conſidering beſides that he was not maſter of the ſteps that might follow that deputation. He engaged however, without any heſitation, not only to ſuffer the aſſembly to meet at the town-houſe, but to aſſiſt at it in perſon. I was informed of it but in the evening, and I mentioned it freely to him as a falſe ſtep he had made. 'Why '(ſaid he) this meeting about a deputation will come 'to nothing. Who does not know the inſignificancy 'of theſe aſſemblies? The Prince has deſired this, 'be-

'believing it good for him to appeaſe people's minds, 'whom the firing of the town-houſe has incenſed. 'But beſides,' added he, (and theſe are the words, which I would have you to obſerve) 'who knows 'whether we ſhall execute what we have reſolved about 'the deputation of the Clergy? We muſt advance and 'draw back in theſe perverſe times as matters require, 'without minding regularity too much.' This anſwer is, in my opinion, an explanation of the nonſenſe you have ſeen before; I will give you another example. The King having refuſed, as you ſhall ſee preſently, this deputation of the town-houſe, old Brouſſel, who made a ſcruple to ſuffer that his name ſhould be alledged as an obſtacle to the peace, went to the town-houſe and declared there that he quitted his magiſtracy. Having had notice time enough of his deſign to have prevented it, I went to acquaint the Duke with it, who after having muſed a little, ſaid to me: 'If the Court had anſwered our good intentions, 'it had been well for us that Brouſſel had quitted his 'poſt; but I own that for the preſent it is bad for us. 'But you muſt own likewiſe, that if they come to them-'ſelves at Court, as they muſt do one time or other, 'it being impoſſible that they ſhould always remain 'blind; we ſhould not be ſorry that old Brouſſel had 'loſt his place.' You ſee in this diſcourſe the image and the effects of uncertainty. I have mentioned theſe two examples only as patterns out of a long ſeries of actions of the like nature, which the Duke, who had certainly a very clear underſtanding, could not correct himſelf of. It is true indeed that the Court afforded him no room to reflect much upon his faults, for want of taking advantage of them. The advantage they received from them at Court was due to fortune alone, and if the Duke and the Prince had made the uſe they might have done, of their refuſing there to receive the deputation from the town-houſe, the Court would have been in danger to have no deputation at all for a long while. Their anſwer to Pietre, the King's Attorney for the city of Paris, who went to demand

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an audience for the Echevins, and the deputies of the several wards, was that it could not be granted so long as the city should acknowledge Mr. de Beaufort for Governor, and Mr. de Broussel for Provost-des-Marchands. The President Viole said to me, as soon as he had heard of this refusal: 'I did not approve of 'the deputation, fearing that it would prove more 'hurtful than beneficial to the Duke and to the Prince. 'But the imprudence of the Court has now turned it 'altogether to their advantage.' The voluntary abdication of old Broussel rendered that imprudence the more solemn. It is certain that they might have used mediums there, which even in preserving the dignity of the crown, had not exasperated people's minds to the degree this refusal did. If the Princes had made a right use of it, the ministers would have repented for a long time of their blundering manner of carrying on this affair, as well as all others.

What is surprizing is, that the Court followed this conduct, just at the time that the party of the Princes was receiving a very considerable reinforcement. The Duke of Lorrain, who thought that by removing out of the kingdom, he had fulfilled his treaty made with Mr. de Turenne at Villeneuve St. George, notified by two cannon shot that he was arrived at Vaneau-les-Dames, which is in the Barrois. He came back afterwards into Champaign with all his forces, which were augmented with 3000 German horse, commanded by Prince Ulric of Wirtemberg. The Chevalier de Guise commanded as Lieutenant-General under the Duke of Lorrain, and the Count de Pas, whom I have mentioned before in some place or other, had, I think, joined some horse to this army. The Duke of Lorrain came slowly on towards Paris, enriching his army by pillaging. He encamped near Villeneuve St. George, where the Duke of Orleans's forces commanded by Mr. de Beaufort, those of the Prince (who was sick at Paris) commanded by the Prince of Tarente and the Count de Tavannes, and those of Spain commanded by Clinchant, in the room of Mr. de Nemours,

Nemours, came to join him. They resolved all of them together to come nearer Mr. de Turenne, who having Corbeil, Melun, and all that is above the river, in his hands, wanted for nothing; when the confederates, who were obliged to seek for subsistance in the neighbourhood of Paris, pillaged the villages, and raised consequently the price of provisions in the city. This consideration, added to their number, which was superior to that of Mr. de Turenne, obliged them to seek out for an opportunity to fight him. He avoided it with that capacity which is known and respected all the world over, and the whole ended in rencounters and skirmishes, that left matters undecided. The imprudence, or rather the ignorance of the Cardinal, and of the sub-ministers, went near to ruin their party, by a fault which ought to have been beyond comparison of more prejudice to them than even the defeat of Mr. de Turenne. Prevot, a canon of Nôtre-Dame, and a counsellor of the parliament, a man as mad as any one can be that is not shut up, undertook to assemble together at the Palais-Royal all those that were true servants to the King, (that was to be the distinguishing character). This assembly was made up of four or five hundred citizens, of which there were not sixty that were men of any substance. Prêvot acquainted them that he had received a Lettre-de-cachet from the King, by which he was ordered to put to the sword all those who should wear straw in their hats, instead of paper, which was the distinguishing mark of those of the King's party. He read, in effect, that letter, and that was the beginning of the most ridiculous enterprize thought of since the procession of the league. The event was, that upon the 24th of September, as that assembly was coming out of the Palais-Royale, they were most intolerably hissed at; and that upon the 26th the Mareschal d'Estampes, whom the Duke sent to the place where they assembled, dispersed them by speaking but a few words. The end of that expedition was, that they ceased to assemble for fear of being hanged,

ranged, as they were threatened to be by an arreſt of parliament, forbidding upon pain of death to aſſemble and to wear any diſtinguiſhing marks. If the Duke and the Prince had made uſe of that opportunity in the manner they might have done, the King's party had that day been cruſhed in Paris for a long time. One le Maire, a perfumer, who was of that gang, came running into my houſe, trembling for fear, and as pale as death. I remember that it was not in my power to hearten him, and that he deſired that he might hide himſelf in my cellar. I had myſelf ground enough to be afraid; for being known not to be in the intereſt of the Prince, I might eaſily enough have been ſuſpected to have had a hand in that enterprize. The Duke, as you have ſeen, was not inclined to make uſe of ſuch conjunctures; and the Prince was ſo weary of any thing that had to do with the people, that he did not think it worth his conſideration. Croiſi has told me ſince that he endeavoured all he could to awaken the Prince on this occaſion, and to perſuade him that he ought not to loſe it. I never remembered to ſpeak of it to the Prince.

Here follows another fault, in my opinion not leſs than the firſt. The Duke of Lorrain, who was a great lover of negotiations, entered into one as ſoon as he was arrived. He told me in the preſence of the Dutcheſs of Orleans, that negotiations followed him every where; that when he left Flanders he was weary of negotiating with the Count de Fuenſaldagne, and that at Paris he muſt begin again to negotiate, whether he would or no: 'For (ſaid he) what elſe 'can one do here, when I ſee even the Baron du 'Jour thinks of making a ſeparate treaty for himſelf?' This Baron du Jour was a gentleman belonging to the Duke, and a very odd ſort of a man; ſo that the Duke of Lorrain could not better repreſent the multitude of negotiators, than by bringing this Baron into the number. But what made him further believe that that ſpirit of negotiating was come into the Duke's head, was his having obſerved that for ſome time he

he had not preſſed him to cauſe his troops to advance, as he had done before. His obſervation was true, and it is certain that the Duke, who was ſincerely for a peace, had good reaſons to be afraid that the Prince ſeeing himſelf ſo conſiderably reinforced, would put invincible obſtacles to it. The Duke was extremely glad for that reaſon, to ſee the Duke of Lorrain likewiſe inclined to negotiate, and to ſend to Court Mr. de Jojeuſe St. Lambert, 'who will 'only have (ſaid the Duke to me) Mr. de Lorrain's 'commiſſion, which will not hinder him from diſ-'covering if there is nothing to be done for me.' 'He may, perhaps, Sir, (anſwered I) be more ſuc-'ceſsful than I have been: I wiſh he may, though 'I do not believe it.' I gueſſed right, for that gentleman ſtaid twelve days at Court without receiving any anſwer. He reported one at his coming back, I believe of his own making, in words ſo obſcure that no body could underſtand the meaning of them, except at Court, where it was diſowned. The Mareſchal d'Eſtampes, whom the Duke had likewiſe ſent thither upon the inſinuations given to the Dutcheſs of Orleans by Mr. le Tellier's means, that he would be hearkened to there as a private man, upon all that he might ſay in the Duke's name, came back as much diſſatisfied at leaſt as the other.

Upon the 30th of September Mr. Talon made an end of letting the Duke and the Public into the true intentions of the Queen, by ſending Mr. Doujat to the parliament (he being himſelf indiſpoſed) with the letters he had received from the Chancellor and the firſt Preſident, in anſwer to thoſe he had writ to them, conſequently to the deliberation of the 26th. Theſe letters imported that the King having transferred his parliament to Pontoiſe, and interdicted the counſellors at Paris from any manner of function there, he could receive no deputation from them till they had obeyed. I cannot expreſs to you the conſternation of the company. It went ſo far that the Duke was afraid that they would have forſaken him, which appre-

apprehenſion made him take a very falſe ſtep, for it obliged him to draw a letter out of his pocket full of flattering expreſſions from the Queen. The Mareſchal d'Eſtampes had brought him this letter, and though that gentleman was very well affected to the Court, he could not imagine it to be ſincere, no more than the Duke himſelf, who had ſhewn it me the day before, ſaying to me; 'The Queen muſt take me 'for a great fool to write to me in this manner, at 'the time that ſhe is acting as ſhe does.' By this you may ſee that he was not the dupe of this letter, or rather that he had not been ſo to that moment. But he became in effect the dupe of it by his making a ſhew of it to the parliament, becauſe it perſuaded the parliament that the Duke was treating of an accommodation for himſelf with the Court. By this means he threw a diſtruſt of his conduct among the members of that company, inſtead of regaining a further credit with them. He could never diveſt himſelf of that myſterious air on ſuch occaſions, and notwithſtanding what the Dutcheſs could ſay to him, he thought it all along neceſſary for his ſafety, to prevent people, as he ſaid, from running into accommodations without him. That air of negotiating, added to the appearances of it which the party of the Prince was continually ſhewing, was, in my opinion, what brought the peace about, much ſooner than the moſt real and effectual negotiations could have done. Great affairs depend ſtill more upon imagination than ſmall ones. The people's imagination alone is ſometimes the cauſe of a civil war. It produced the peace on this occaſion; for the peace ought not to be attributed to their wearineſs, which was far from being come to ſuch a point as to oblige them to recall back or to receive Mazarin. It is certain that they ſuffered his return only when they became perſuaded that they could no longer prevent it: but as ſoon as the body of the public perceived plainly that it was ſo, then private perſons ran into it, and what perſuaded

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both private perſons and the public that it was ſo, was the conduct of the chiefs.

The Duke's myſterious manner of explaining himſelf in the late aſſemblies, in order to ſhew the regard which they ſtill preſerved for him at Court, finiſhed what was already very much advanced. Every body thought the peace certain, ſo that every body was for making his ſeparate treaty. As ſoon as the gentleman whom the Duke of Lorrain had ſent to Court was come back, and that his negotiation was known, the parliament ſlackened, and gave publicly to underſtand, that provided the King would grant a general and full amneſty, that ſhould be verified in the parliament at Paris, they would ſeek for no other ſureties. They went not ſo far as to declare this by a formal arreſt, but what they did produced very near the ſame effect, having intreated the Duke to ſeek himſelf for no other ſureties, and to inform the King of it.

Upon the 10th of October Mr. Sevin having repreſented that it would be neceſſary to deſire the Duke of Beaufort to reſign the government of Paris, by reaſon of the King's refuſing to receive the deputies of the Town-houſe, ſo long as he ſhould aſſume that poſt; Mr. Sevin, I ſay, who at another time durſt not have mentioned any thing like this, was now heard without being either repulſed or hiſſed. It was even ſaid in that ſame ſitting, that the counſellors of the parliament who were officers of the trained-bands, might go, if they pleaſed, to St. Germain's, where the Court was, with the deputation of the Town-houſe. Obſerve however that among the inſtances which this deputation was to make to the King for his returning to Paris, not a word was ſaid about the verification of the amneſty in the parliament at Paris. What nonſenſe was that!

Upon the 11th the Duke promiſed the company to get Mr. de Beaufort to reſign his employment; and Meſſieurs Doujat and Sevin acquainted the company of the complaints they had made to the Duke of the diſorders committed by the forces, contrary to the pro-

promiſe which had been given that they ſhould retire. The Duke of Lorrain, whom I met that day in St. Honoré's ſtreet, and who had like to have been killed by the citizens who guarded the gate of St. Martin, becauſe he would have gone out of town, ſet off with all its colours the uniformity of this conduct. He told me that he would write a book upon it, and dedicate it to the Duke. 'My poor little ſiſter * will 'cry at it, ſaid he, but no matter: ſhe will com-'fort herſelf with Mademoiſelle Claude †.'

Upon the 12th the Duke made many excuſes to the parliament that the troops did not remove ſo ſoon as they would have done had it not been for the bad weather. You are without doubt very much ſurpriſed to hear the Duke ſpeak in this manner of thoſe troops, which eight or ten days before appeared publicly in their red and yellow ſcarfs, in a condition to fight even with advantage thoſe of the King. An hiſtorian who ſhould write of times more remote would ſeek for connections to incidents ſo unlikely, and if I may ſay ſo, ſo contradictory as theſe were. There was no greater interval of time than the few days I have mentioned, between theſe doings, neither was there any other myſtery in it. All that vulgar politicians have been pleaſed to imagine in order to reconcile theſe events, was nothing elſe than fiction and chimeras. This brings me back to the maxim I have laid down, which is, that by conſequences almoſt inevitable, capital faults render thoſe things poſſible which appear and are in effect the moſt unlikely.

Upon the 13th the colonels of the ſeveral wards of the city had the King's order to come by deputies to St. Germain's where Mr. de Seve, the eldeſt of them, ſpoke for the reſt. The King ordered a dinner to be

* The Dutcheſs of Orleans.

† Claude de Lorraine, who married Cardinal Francis of Lorrain her couſin-german, and brother to that Duke of Lorrain, of whom the Cardinal de Retz here ſpeaks: from which marriage the preſent Dukes of Lorrain are deſcended.

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prepared for them, and honoured them even with his preſence whilſt they dined. That ſame day the Prince left Paris with a joy beyond whatever you can imagine: he had formed that deſign long before. It has been the opinion of many, that his love for Madam de Châtillon had detained him there; but many others believed that he had, to the laſt, entertained hopes of coming to an accommodation with the Court. I cannot remember what he has told me upon that ſubject; for it is impoſſible that in the long converſations I have had ſince with him about matters paſt, I ſhould not have mentioned this.

Upon the 14th Mr. de Beaufort made a ſhort and bad compliment to the parliament, upon his having reſigned the government of Paris.

Upon the 16th the Duke declared plainly to the parliament, that the King had diſowned in every reſpect what the gentleman ſent by Mr. de Lorrain pretended to have tranſacted at court; but he added, according to his uſual ſtile, that he was every moment expecting ſome better news. The Duke ſeeing me wonder at his continuing this conduct, ſaid to me: 'Would you be anſwerable from one quarter of an 'hour to another? How do I know whether the peo- 'ple would not in an inſtant deliver me up to the 'King, if they thought that I kept no meaſures with 'the Court? How do I know whether in another 'inſtant they would not deliver me up to the Prince, 'if it came into his head to return to Paris, and to 'cauſe there an inſurrection?' When you ſee theſe principles of the Duke's, I believe that you are leſs ſurprized at his conduct. It is ſaid that one ought never to diſpute againſt what is laid down for a principle. Thoſe principles that are grounded upon fear ought leſs to be diſputed and are leſs diſputable than all others: they are unapproachable.

The Duke acquainted the parliament upon the 19th that he had received a letter from the King, informing him of his coming to Paris upon the 5th, which was the Monday; and the Duke added, that

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he was extremely surprized that their Majesties should not begin by sending an amnesty to be verified in the parliament of Paris. The company fell into the greatest consternation. They deliberated upon it, and it was agreed that they should intreat the King to do that act of grace both to the parliament and to his people.

His Royal Highness had received that letter upon the 18th in the evening, upon which he immediately sent for me. He told me that the conduct of the Court was incomprehensible; that they ventured thereupon losing all, and that he had almost a mind to shut the gates against the King. I answered him, that the conduct of the Court was not at all incomprehensible to me; that they knew there that they ran no manner of hazard, knowing as they did his good and pacific intentions; that in my opinion they acted (at least considering the end they had) with much more prudence than they had done in the beginning; that I could not see what could hinder them from returning to Paris, after his having promised ever since the 14th to restore the former Prevost-des-Marchands and the Eschevins, as the Court had ordered it without ever concerting the thing with him. The Duke uttered five or six oaths one after another; and after having mused a little, 'Go, said he, I will 'be left for two hours to myself; come again this 'evening about eight.' I found him at that time in the Dutchess's closet, and I found her catechising or rather exhorting of him, for he was in the greatest transport possible, and spoke as if he had been on horseback, armed cap-a-pe, and ready to cover the plains of St. Dennis and Grenelle with blood and slaughter. The Dutchess was frightened, and I must confess that though I knew the Duke well enough to prevent my being over hasty in imagining him so bloody minded, I fancied however that he was more moved than ordinary. The first thing he said to me was: 'Well, Sir, what say you to this? Do you 'think there is any safety for me to treat with the

'Court?' 'None at all, Sir, answered I, except 'you look to yourself, and provide for your own 'safety; her Royal Highness knows that I never 'spoke otherwise to you.' 'Tis certainly so,' said the Dutchess. 'But had you not told me,' continued the Duke, 'that the King would not return to Paris 'without concerting the matter with me?' 'I had 'told you, Sir, replied I, that the Queen had told 'me so, but that her manner of saying it obliged 'me to give your Royal Highness notice, that you 'ought by no means to rely upon her word.' 'He 'has given you but too much notice,' said the Dutchess, 'but you would not believe him.' 'I 'own it, replied the Duke, and I complain only of 'the cursed Spanish woman.' 'Complaints are out 'of season, said the Dutchess; it is high time to act 'something one way or another. You was for peace 'when it was in your power to make war; you 'are now for war, when it is not in your power to 'make either war or peace.' 'I will make war to-'morrow,' replied the Duke in a warrior's tone, 'and 'more easily than ever. Ask the Cardinal de Retz.' The Duke thought that I would have opposed that proposition; I perceived that it was the thing he wished, to have it in his power afterwards to say, that he would have done wonders if he had not been kept back. I gave him no room for it, for I answered him gravely and without the least emotion: 'No 'doubt of it, Sir.' 'Am I not still', continued the Duke, 'master of the people?' 'Yes, Sir,' said I. 'At my calling the Prince back, will he not return?' 'I believe he will, Sir,' said I. 'Will not the 'Spanish army advance if I require it?' 'In all 'appearance it will,' replied I. You expect after this that he would have entered into some great resolution, or at least into some great deliberation. Nothing like it, and I cannot give you a better account of the end of this conference, than by desiring you to remember what you have sometimes seen at the Italian comedy. The comparison shews indeed but

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little reſpect, and I ſhould not take the liberty to make it, if it was of my own inventing. But it came into the Dutcheſs's head preſently after the Duke's going out of her cloſet, and ſhe told it me half laughing and half crying. 'Methinks, ſaid ſhe, that I 'ſee Harlequin telling Scaramouche: What fine 'things I would have ſaid, if thou hadſt not had wit 'enough to contradict me!' The converſation ended in that manner, the Duke concluding that though it was very bad that the King ſhould return to Paris, without doing it in concert with him, and without an amneſty verified in parliament, it would however agree neither with his duty or reputation to oppoſe it, becauſe there was no body but knew that it was in his power to do it if he pleaſed, ſo that all the world would do him juſtice in acknowledging that his regard for the quiet of the ſtate was the only thing that could oblige him to follow a conduct, which, as to his particular, ought to be grievous to him. The Dutcheſs, who was however of his opinion at the bottom, at leaſt in regard to the thing itſelf, for the reaſons you have ſeen before, could not allow him that expreſſion. She ſaid to him with firmneſs, and even with anger; 'This way of reaſoning, Sir, 'might become the Cardinal de Retz, but not a ſon 'of France: but that queſtion is now over, and all 'we have to do now is to ſubmit with a good grace 'to the King.' He exclaimed at that word as if ſhe had propoſed to him to throw himſelf headlong into the river. 'Retire then, Sir, immediately,' added ſhe. 'And where the devil ſhall I retire?' ſaid he. He left her at this word, and went to his own apartment, whither he commanded me to follow him. It was to aſk me if I had had no notice from the Princeſs Palatine about the King's return: I told him that I had not; which was true: but it was not long before I heard from her, for an hour after I received a billet of her's importing that the Queen had commanded her to acquaint me with it, and to tell me that her Majeſty made no doubt but that I would

finish in this conjuncture what I had so well and so happily begun at Compiegne. That Princess made me many excuses in a billet apart writ in cypher, for giving me this notice so late. 'You know the state 'of things here, added she; the Court is at St. Ger- 'main's the same it was at Compiegne.' This was telling me enough. All that I have related arrived upon the 20th of October.

The King, who lay that night at Ruel, came to Paris upon the 21st. He sent from Ruel, Nogent and Mr. d'Amville to the Duke, to invite him to come and meet him. His Royal Highness could never resolve upon doing it, though these two gentlemen pressed him extremely. They were in the right, and I am still persuaded that the Duke was not in the wrong. Not that there was any design against his person, at least as I have heard the Mareschal de Villeroy say: but I believe that if he had been to meet the King, and that the King had had a design to have secured him, he might have done it, considering the disposition in which the people were. I own that at the bottom the people were very well inclined to the Duke, and better inclined to him beyond comparison than to the Court; but the minds of people were in an agitation, and in a flutter that might in my opinion have been turned to any thing; and if the weight of the Royal Majesty had been made use of in that conjuncture, I do not know whether it would not have carried it. I speak doubtfully upon the matter, because it is certain that upon the whole the Duke had still for him all the meaner, and even all the middling people. But, in short, there were, in my opinion, good reasons to prevent his running the risk, chiefly out of the walls of Paris. My wonder was much greater that the ministers should expose the person of his Majesty to the discontent, the distrust and the fright of the Duke; to the fear of a parliament that had room to believe that the Court came with a design to crush that company; and to the caprice of a people who continued their

attachment to persons of whom the Cardinal was far from being assured. The event has so well justified the conduct which the Court followed on this occasion, that it is almost ridiculous to blame it. I think nevertheless that it was imprudent, rash, and inconsiderate, beyond what it is possible to imagine. I will not say upon this head what I have said upon the other, that I am doubtful; I will say positively and to my certain knowledge, that if the Duke had pleased, the Queen and the sub-ministers had that day been separated from the King.

Courtiers will always suffer themselves to be amused by the acclamations of the people, without considering that they are only things of course on such occasions. I heard some persons at the Louvre that evening that were flattering the Queen upon these acclamations, whilst Mr. de Turenne, who was behind me, at the circle, was whispering me in the ear; 'They did almost the like lately for the Duke of 'Lorrain.' I had surprized that gentleman very much if I had told him, that in the midst of these acclamations there had been many persons who had proposed to the Duke to oblige the King to go to the Town-house and take up his lodging there. This was very true, and Mr. de Beaufort himself had pressed him about it with twelve or fifteen counsellors of the parliament. There are some of them who are still living, whom people would very much wonder at if I should name them. The Duke would not hearken to it, and I opposed it to my utmost when the Duke told me of that proposal. It was, in my opinion, a thing possible as to the present success, it being certain that any town-officer that would have made the least appearance against the Duke's orders, had been massacred by his own soldiers; but setting aside respect, conscience, and what else you can imagine, the proposal was foolish, considering the circumstances and the consequences, as you will perceive at once by what I have said before. It was certainly by a principle of duty only that I opposed it,

for I thought myself in much greater danger than I have ever done in my life. I went to wait for the King at the Louvre, where I staid two or three hours before he came, with Madam de Lesdiguieres, and Mr. de Turenne. This last asked me aloud, without any ill meaning, but rather moved by his concern, Whether I thought myself safe there? I squeezed his hand, because I perceived that Frelay, who was a great Mazarinian, had heard him, and I answered: 'Yes, Sir, and all manner of ways: Madam de Les-'diguieres knows that I am in the right to think so.' This however was only bragging, for I am persuaded, that if I had been arrested that day, it had occasioned no manner of stirring. What I have been telling you of what was possible on either side, will without doubt appear contradictory to you, and I confess that it can be well conceived only by those who have seen not only the outside, but the inside of what passed.

The Queen received me admirably well, and she desired the King to embrace me as being the man to whom he chiefly owed his return to Paris. These words, which were heard by a great many, caused me a real joy, because I thought that the Queen would not have spoke them publicly, if she had had a design to have had me arrested. I staid at the circle till the Queen went to council. As I was coming away, I met Jouy in the anti-chamber, who told me that the Duke had sent him to know whether it was true that they had admitted me at the council-board, and to command me to come to him. I met, as I was entering the Duke's palace, Mr. d'Aligre coming out, who had been sent by the King to bid the Duke in his name to leave Paris the next day, and to retire to Limours. This blunder has likewise been consecrated by the event, but in my opinion it is one of the greatest and most signal faults that has ever been committed in politics. You may tell me that they knew at Court what sort of man the Duke was; to which I will answer, that they knew him so little on this occasion, that he was just upon the point of resolving,

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or rather of executing what he had really resolved; which was to post himself in the market-place, to make barricadoes even to the gates of the Louvre, and to drive the King away from thence. I am persuaded that he had succeeded even with ease, if he had gone about it, and that the people had not stood hesitating if they had seen his Royal Highness in person, and his Royal Highness taking up arms only to prevent his being exiled. I have been accused to have stirred up the Duke very much on this occasion. Take what follows as a true account of what I did.

At my coming to the Duke he appeared to me very much cast down, because he had put it into his head that the order which he had just then received from the King by Mr. d'Aligre, was only to amuse him, and make him believe that there was no thought of arresting him. It is impossible to express the agitation he was in. He fancied that every musket-shot he heard (and upon such occasions there are always many musket-shots) came from the regiment of guards that was sent to invest his palace. All those he sent to enquire, brought him word that all was quiet, but he would believe nobody, and he was at every instant looking out at window, that he might the better hear whether there were any drums beating. At last he recovered a little courage, enough at least to ask me whether he might depend upon me? To which I answered only by this piece of a verse out of the Cid of Corneille: 'Any one besides my father *.——This word set him a laughing, which was very extraordinary, when he was possessed with fear. 'Give me a proof 'of it, continued he, and come to a reconciliation 'with Mr. de Beaufort.' 'With all my heart, Sir,' replied I. He embraced me, and went himself to open the door of the gallery that joined to the door of

* The verse alluded to in this place is in a scene of Corneille's play, called Le Cid, where a father having lately received an affront, asks his son if he has courage, the son answers, *Tout autre que mon pere, l'eprouveroit sur l'heure.* Any one but my father should have immediate proof of it.

his bed-chamber, where he then was. I saw Mr. de Beaufort coming out of it, who took me round the neck, saying: 'Ask his Royal Highness what I was just now 'saying to him upon your account. I can distinguish 'honest men. Come, Sir, let us drive away the 'Mazarinians for good and all, and let us send them 'to the devil.' The conversation opened in this manner, and the Duke went on with it by an ambiguous speech, which in the mouth of Gaston † of Foix had been the fore-runner of some great action, but in the mouth of Gaston of France, was to me only the presage of nothing at all. Mr. de Beaufort maintained, to the utmost of his power, the necessity and the possibility of the proposal he made, which was that the Duke should march at break of day directly to the market-place, and that he should set up barricadoes there, to be carried on where it should be thought best. At this the Duke turned to me, saying as they do at the parliament, Your advice, Sir, as being eldest counsellor. I will set down here the very words I spoke, and the whole conversation, which I have transcribed from the original, as I dictated it to Montresor at my coming home from the Duke's, and which I have still by me written with his own hand.

'I think, indeed, Sir, that I ought to speak in this 'conjuncture after the manner of the eldest counsellor 'of the parliament, that is, after the manner he did 'when he moved for publick prayers for forty hours 'together. I know but of few conjunctures where 'there has been so much need of them. They would 'still be, Sir, much more necessary to me than to 'any other, because I can give no advice but what 'must be attended with very dismal appearances, and 'even with terrible inconveniencies. If I advise you 'to bear with the injurious treatment which you have 'met with, will not the publick, which is always 'inclined to think evil, have a reason or a pretence

† Gaston of Foix, Duke de Nemours, was one of the bravest men of his time. He was killed at the battle of Ravenna in the year 1512, upon Easter-day, aged about 23.

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'to say that I betray your interest, and that in giving 'you this advice I do but go on with the obstacles I 'have put to the designs of the Prince? If I advise 'your Royal Highness to disobey, and to follow 'Mr. de Beaufort's views, will it be in my power to 'prevent people from thinking me to be a man who 'blows hot and cold; who is for peace when he is in 'hopes of gaining some advantages in treating of it; 'who is for war when he has been refused to treat of 'peace; who advises to destroy the city with fire and 'sword, and to set that fire to the gates of the Louvre, 'by enterprizing against the King's person? This is, 'Sir, what will be said of me, and what you may 'yourself believe at certain instants. I might have 'room, after having foretold your Royal Highness 'perhaps above a thousand times, that your uncer-'tainties would bring you to the condition you are 'now in; I might have room, I say, to intreat you 'with all the respect I owe to your Royal Highness, 'to excuse me from speaking upon a matter, which I 'have already said more upon than any body living. 'I will however make use but of half the right which 'I think I have, that is, that though I do not design 'to determine the way which your Royal Highness 'ought to follow, I will expose to your view the in-'conveniencies of both ways, with the same freedom 'as if I had any thought of chusing one of the two 'for myself. If your Royal Highness obeys, you are 'answerable to the whole kingdom for all that it will 'afterwards suffer. I will not pretend to judge of 'what that suffering may come to, for who can fore-'judge of an evil that depends on the punctilio's of a 'Mazarin, on the impetuosity of an Ondedei, on the 'impertinence of an Abbot Fouquet, and on the vio-'lence of a Servien? But, in short, you will be an-'swerable for all that they shall do against the publick, 'because the publick will be persuaded that it has 'been in your power to prevent it. If you do not 'obey, you run the risk of overturning the state.'— The Duke interrupted me at that word, saying with

great eagerneſs: 'You do not come to the point, 'which is to know whether I am in a condition to 'diſobey?' 'I believe ſo, Sir, anſwered I, for I do 'not ſee which way the Court can go about to make 'you obey. The King muſt come in perſon to attack 'you here, which will be no eaſy matter.' Mr. de Beaufort enlarged upon the impoſſibility of the attempt, and ſaid ſo much that I perceived that the Duke began likewiſe to think ſo, in which caſe he was altogether like to reſolve upon ſitting idle, his inclination leading him always that way. I therefore thought myſelf obliged by all manner of reaſons to clear that point to him, which I did by telling him, that there was a diſtinction to be made; that I owned that the people were not likely to ſuffer for the preſent that the Duke ſhould be taken forcibly away from his own palace, but that the King might in time bring matters to a paſs that ſhould enable him to do it; that by accuſtoming the people to acknowledge his authority, I made no doubt of his ſucceeding in it, and even quickly, becauſe I made no doubt but that by uſing prudent meaſures, he would quickly accuſtom his people to obey his power; that that power would encreaſe at every inſtant; that it was already greater at ten at night, which was the hour that his watch had juſt then ſtruck, than it was at five in the afternoon, and that the proof of this was evident by the King's rendering himſelf maſter of the gate of the conference, which he cauſed to be peaceably guarded, without any body's murmuring at it, by the ſingle regiment of guards, who certainly durſt not have come near it, if the Duke had pleaſed to have cauſed it to be ſhut for a quarter of an hour only, between three and four in the afternoon; that if his Royal Highneſs ſuffered all other poſts of Paris to be taken poſſeſſion of in like manner; if he ſuffered the parliament to be abuſed, as it would be perhaps the next morning, I believed that perhaps the next afternoon there would be no great ſafety for him. This brought the Duke again into his firſt fright, and made him cry out: 'You mean 'that

'that I cannot keep myself on the defensive?' 'No, 'Sir, answered I; you can do what you please, from 'this time till to-morrow morning; but I would not 'answer for what you can do to-morrow night.' Mr. de Beaufort, who thought that what I said was with a design to propose and to countenance the offensive part, was offering to second me, but I stopped him short by saying: 'I perceive, Sir, that you do not 'take me right. I speak to his Royal Highness in 'the manner I do, only because I have observed that 'he thinks he may securely stay in his palace against 'the King's will. I have no advice to give, in the 'state in which matters are. It has always belonged 'to the Duke to determine. It even belongs to him 'to propose, and our business is only to execute. It 'shall never be said that I have advised him, either to 'suffer the treatment he meets with, or to set up bar-'ricadoes to-morrow morning. I have already ac-'quainted him with the reasons I have to follow this 'conduct. He has commanded me to expose to his 'view the inconveniencies which I perceive on both 'sides, and I have done it.' The Duke gave me leave to speak as much as I would, and after having taken two or three turns about the chamber, he came back to me and said: 'If I resolve to dispute 'the ground, will you declare for me?' 'Yes, Sir, 'answered I, and without any hesitation. I ought to 'do it; I am attached to your service; do but com-'mand, and you shall certainly see me obey. But I 'shall be grieved at heart at it, because in the con-'dition things are in, it is impossible for an honest 'man not to be grieved, whatever you resolve upon.' The Duke, who was no otherwise good, than because he was an easy man, and who was not naturally tender, was moved however at what I told him. Tears came to his eyes; he embraced me, and of a sudden he asked me whether I thought that he might render him-self master of the King's person. I told him that nothing in the world was more impossible, the gate of the conference being guarded as it was. Mr. de Beau-

fort propoſed ſome means which were impracticable in every reſpect. He offered to go and poſt himſelf at the entrance of the Cours with the Duke's houſhold. In ſhort, he ſaid many fooliſh things in my opinion. I perſiſted to ſpeak and act in the manner I had done, and I perceived before I left the Duke (and to ſay the truth, I perceived it with pleaſure) that he would chuſe to obey, for I obſerved in him all the appearance poſſible of joy for my forbearing to countenance the offenſive part, notwithſtanding which he ſpoke of nothing elſe the reſt of the time we ſtaid with him, and he even commanded us to get our friends in a readineſs, and to come to his palace all of us at break of day. Mr. de Beaufort perceived as well as I, that the Duke was againſt doing any thing, and as we were coming down ſtairs, he ſaid to me: 'This gentleman 'is not capable of a vigorous action.' 'And much 'leſs capable, ſaid I, to go on with it, which makes 'me think you mad to propoſe it to him in the ſtate 'in which things are.' 'I find you hardly know him 'yet, replied he; if I had not propoſed it to him, 'he would have reproached me with it for ten years 'together.'

I found at my coming home Montreſor, who was ſtaying for me, and who made a mighty jeſt of my ſcruples, for ſo he called all the regard I had ſhewn in the converſation I had with the Duke, which he writ down as I was dictating it to him. That gentleman aſſured me very poſitively that the Duke had a greater deſire to be at Limours than the Queen had to ſend him thither, but upon the whole, he owned that the Court had committed a terrible fault in puſhing him to it, becauſe the fear of not thinking himſelf ſafe there, might eaſily put him upon undertaking what he would never have thought on, if the leaſt regard had been ſhewn to him. The event has likewiſe juſtified that imprudence, which was ſo much the greater, becauſe at Court, where they had ground to look upon me as upon a man exaſperated and full of diſtruſt, they were, in my opinion, far from doing me the juſtice

juſtice to believe that my ſentiments for the ſtate were ſo right as in truth they were. I am indeed convinced, that conſidering the Duke's humour, which it was impoſſible to change; conſidering beſides the diviſion of the party, to which no remedy could be found by reaſon of an infinity of circumſtances, and of the confuſion, paſt, preſent, and to come, occaſioned by that diviſion; I am convinced, I ſay, that it had been impoſſible to ſupport any thing that had been undertaken, which reaſon alone, ſetting aſide all others, was ſufficient to deter any body from adviſing the Duke to undertake any thing. But I am no leſs convinced that the Duke would for the preſent have ſucceeded in his enterprize, and that he had driven the King away from Paris. Many perſons will take what I ſay for a paradox, but all great things that remain unexecuted appear always impracticable to thoſe who are incapable of any thing great, and I am ſure there were ſome who were not ſurprized at the barricadoes which the Duke de Guiſe ſet up, who had looked upon the thing as ridiculous if they had heard it mentioned a quarter of an hour before they were raiſed. I do not know whether I have not already ſaid in ſome place or other of theſe Memoirs, that what has made ſome men the moſt remarkable by ſome great actions, is their having obſerved before others the critical minute which made the undertaking of them poſſible.

I return to the Duke. He ſat out for Limours a little before break of day, and he even affected to be gone an hour ſooner than he had appointed Mr. de Beaufort and me to come to him. We found Jouy, expecting us by his order at the gate of his palace, who told us from him, that he had had his reaſons for doing as he did, which we ſhould know ſome time or other, and that we had beſt come to an accommodation with the Court if it was poſſible. As for my part, I was not ſurprized at his conduct: Mr. de Beaufort exclaimed much againſt it.

Upon the 22d the King held his bed of juſtice at the Louvre. He cauſed there four declarations to be read.

read. The first was that of the amnesty; the second was for the recalling the parliament to Paris; the third was an order for Mr. de Beaufort, as well as for Messieurs de Rohan, Viole, de Thou, Brousse!, Portail, Bitaud, Croisi, Machaut, Fleury, Martineau, and Perraut, to leave Paris; and in that same declaration the parliament was forbidden to meddle for the future with any matters of state; the fourth established a chamber of vacations. The parliament had agreed in the morning before they went to the King, that the company should make some instances to his Majesty about having those of their body who were exiled, restored to their functions. They all of them obeyed their orders that same day. I went to the Queen's in the afternoon, where, after her Majesty had staid some time at the circle, she commanded me to go with her into her little closet. She used me extremely well; she told me that she knew that I had softened both people's minds and affairs, as much as I had it in my power; that she believed that I had done it still more readily and more publickly, if I had not been obliged to observe many regards with my friends, who were not all of them in the same sentiments; that she pitied me, and would help me out of the trouble I was in. You find in all this a great deal of civility, and even of appearing kindness. But see what it tended to at the bottom. She was more incensed at me than ever, because Beloy, who belonged to the Duke, but who always was secretly attached to some other, and who had renewed his former measures with the Court since the affairs of the Prince had been declining, had sent her notice in the morning as soon as she was awake, that I had offered to the Duke to do whatever he would command me. Not that he knew any thing of the particulars of what passed the evening before between the Duke, Mr. de Beaufort, and me: But entring with Joui into the Duke's chamber as soon as we had left him, the Duke, whom they found both moved and troubled, said to them: 'I might, if I pleased, 'prepare a fine dance for the Spanish woman.' Beloy, either

either maliciously, or moved only by curiosity, answered the Duke: 'But, Sir, can your Royal Highness depend 'intirely upon the Cardinal de Retz?' 'The Cardi- 'nal de Retz, replied the Duke, is an honest man, 'and will not fail me.' Jouï, who had heard this, informed me of it in the morning, and I made no doubt but that Beloy had likewise sent an account of it to the Queen. But the Queen could not be informed that at the same time that I had offered to the Duke what my honour obliged me to, I had omitted nothing of what my honour likewise gave me leave to do, to prevent the overturning of the state. At the very moment that Jouï acquainted me with this, I made a serious reflection upon the scruples which Montresor had made a jest of and blamed me for, the night before. It is true, that such scruples meet with no success in Courts, at least commonly; but there are persons who prefer to success, the inward satisfaction they find in themselves.

You would have been surprized at the manner in which I answered the Queen, if I had not given you beforehand this little account, which contains the reasons I had to speak to her as I did. I don't mean as to matter of sincerity, for you have seen that even before, I seldom failed of using the like in speaking to her. I told her that I had a sensible joy to have at last met with the moment, which I had for so long a time so passionately wished for, which was to serve her without any restriction: that so long as his Royal Highness had been engaged in affairs, I could not follow my own inclination by reason of my engagements with him, in which she knew that I had never deceived her: that if I had had the honour to speak in private to her Majesty the day before, I would have discovered to her freely, as my custom was, the manner in which I was obliged in honour to behave myself with the Duke: that his Royal Highness having left Paris, fully resolved to meddle no more with any public affairs, had by that freed me from my engagements, and restored me to the liberty of following now-

now my own inclination, which was such a pleasure to me that I could not well enough express it to her Majesty. She answered me in the most civil manner, but I perceived that she would fain have put me upon discovering the dispositions in which the Duke was. I easily satisfied her, and she was pleased with what I said; for I assured her, and it was certainly true, that the Duke was resolved to keep quiet in his solitude. 'We must not suffer him to stay there,' replied she; 'he may be useful to the King and to the 'state: it is necessary that you should go and fetch 'him back.' I was extremely surprized at this, because I must confess that I expected nothing like it, and that at first I could not well comprehend what her meaning was. But I quickly found it out, not that she explained it to me clearly, but by her giving me to understand, that the Duke having satisfied to what he owed to the King's dignity, by the obedience he had shewn, it was in his power to re-establish himself better than ever in the King's favour, by crowning the good conduct he had followed with just and reasonable condescensions, in which he might even find his own account. You see that there was nothing very obscure in these expressions. When the Queen perceived that I answered only in general terms, she closed herself up, and appeared quite changed, not only in respect to the matter we were upon, but to the manner in which she had at first treated me. I saw her blush, and she began to speak more coldly, which was always with her a sign of being angry. She came to herself however in a little time, and she asked me whether I continued to confide in Madam de Chevreuse? To which I answered, that I continued to be her very humble servant. She took me up at that word very hastily, and, as I thought, she did it with some pleasure. 'I understand you,' said she; 'you confide more in the Princess Palatine, and you 'are in the right.' 'I put a great trust,' replied I, 'in the Princess Palatine; but I beseech your Ma'jesty to give me leave to rely on no body but your-

'self.'

'ſelf.' 'With all my heart,' ſaid ſhe, pretty kindly in appearance: 'adieu; the whole nobility of 'France are within ſtaying for me.'

I muſt deſire you to give me leave to inform you in this place of ſome particulars that are neceſſary to convince you, that perſons who are at the head of great affairs meet with no leſs trouble from thoſe of their own party than from enemies. The enemies I had, though extremely powerful in the ſtate, the one by his birth, his merit, and his faction, and the other by his favour, had not been able, with all their efforts, to oblige me to quit my poſt; and I may ſay, without vanity, that I had kept it, and even with dignity, by ſailing only a little with the wind, if the different intereſts, or rather the different chimæras of my friends, had not put me, againſt my will, upon following a conduct which occaſioned my ruin, becauſe it perſuaded the Court that I was reſolved to hold it out againſt wind and tide. To let you into theſe particulars, which are pretty curious, it is neceſſary, in my opinion, that I ſhould let you likewiſe into ſome particulars that relate to a certain number of perſons who were called my friends. I make uſe of that expreſſion, becauſe many that went by that name were not really ſuch.

I had not broke, for example, with Madam de Chevreuſe nor with Laigues. Noirmoutier had left nothing undone to reconcile himſelf to me, and at the inſtance of all my friends I had been obliged to receive him and to live civilly with him. Montreſor, who at all adventures had declared to me an hundred times in his life that he was in my intereſt in dependance only of the houſe of Guiſe, pretended a right however to enter into my affairs, becauſe he had been let into the ſecret of ſome of them. That right, which conſiſts properly in having a hand in negotiations, he had in common with the perſons I have juſt now named. He made not the like uſe of it in this laſt conjuncture as the others did, though he ſpoke as much and more about it. He was ſatisfied

to

to appear discontented, and to complain when he came to me in the evening, but he took no ill steps towards the Court, as Mr. de Noirmoutier did, who to gain some credit with Cardinal Mazarin, whom he went to see upon the frontiers, shewed him one of my letters, the date of which he had falsified, and wherein I had formerly charged him with a commission, which, as he pretended, had relation to the present time. The Cardinal suspected the cheat, by reason of some circumstances which I have forgot, and he never forgave it that gentleman. Madam de Chevreuse did not use me in that manner, but having found at Court neither the regard nor the trust which she expected, she was seeking after some intrigue, and she would have been glad, at the King's coming back to Paris, to have meddled with my concerns which appeared to be of consequence, because they were looked upon as a thing previous and necessary to the return of the Cardinal. Laigues, who had treated me pretty freely before my going to Compiegne, began to see me again regularly, and almost upon the ancient foot; and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse herself made some advances to be reconciled to me, by her mother's order, if I am not very much mistaken. She had the finest eyes in the world, and a certain art of turning them, that was admirable and altogether peculiar to her. I just took notice of them, and no more, the evening she arrived at Paris, and I lived civilly both with her and with her mother, as well as with Laigues, and that was all. One might think that the conduct I followed on this occasion would have been enough to have served my turn; but it proved not so, and there was a reason for it, which is, that the advances that those who acknowledge their ill conduct make to the great man they have offended, will infallibly always turn to his disadvantage, if he rejects those advances, or receives them but slightly, it being hardly possible that those who think themselves slighted should not preserve a resentment for it, and have a fling at him, at least in their heat. I know that

Laigues

Laigues uſed me in that manner, and even groſsly, before ſeveral perſons and on ſeveral occaſions. I have heard nothing like it of Madam de Chevreuſe, which is not to be wondered at, becauſe ſhe has a natural goodneſs in her, or rather a natural eaſineſs. As for Mademoiſelle de Chevreuſe, ſhe could not pardon me the reſiſtance I had offered to her eyes; and the Abbot Fouquet, who ſerved at that time his quarter with her, ſaid, after that lady's death, to a perſon of quality from whom I had it, that ſhe hated me as much as ſhe had loved me. I can take my oath with all manner of aſſurance, that I had never given her the leaſt occaſion for it. The poor lady died of a malignant fever, that carried her off in four and twenty hours, before her phyſicians ſo much as dreamed that ſhe was in the leaſt danger. I ſaw her for a moment with the Dutcheſs her mother, who was by her bedſide, and who little thought that ſhe was to loſe her daughter the next morning by break of day.

I had a ſecond ſort of friends, that is, perſons who kept themſelves wrapt up in the party of the Fronde, and who at the time that that party was ſubdivided, had ſtuck particularly cloſe to me. This ſecond ſort was compoſed of perſons of ſeveral degrees, who all agreed however in a point, which was, that they all expected that my accommodation with the Court would turn very much to their particular advantage; whereby they were already diſpoſed to believe, that if I did not do for them what they expected, it would be, not for want of power, but for want of will. Theſe ſort of perſons are extremely troubleſome, becauſe in a great party there is always a great number to whom it is impoſſible to diſcover all that the heads of the party are able or not able to do, and to whom it is conſequently impoſſible to juſtify what is done. That evil is without any remedy, and is of the nature of thoſe in which one ought to ſeek a ſatisfaction in one's own conſcience only. Mine has been all my life long more tender upon that article than it is convenient to a man who has meddled with ſo great affairs.

affairs as I have done. There are but few matters wherein ſcruples are of leſs ſervice. It is true, that by the event I ſuffered no inconveniencies in the preſent conjuncture; but I had already ſuffered enough in my imagination.

The third ſort of friends whom I had at that time, was a choſen number of perſons of quality, who were united to me both by intereſt and by friendſhip, who were in my confidence, and with whom I faithfully concerted what I was to do. Theſe were Meſſieurs de Briſſac, de Bellievre, and de Caumartin, with whom Mr. de Montreſor, as I have already ſaid, joined himſelf, by reaſon of many paſt affairs in which he had had a ſhare. There was not one in this little number that had not a right to my friendſhip. The quality of Mr. de Briſſac, and his attachment to me in my moſt troubleſome affairs, obliged me to have a greater regard for his intereſt than for my own, and ſo much the more that he had not had the advantage ſtipulated for him in relation to the government of Anjou, at the time that the Princes were arreſted. I can't ſay however that it was either the fault of the Court or mine, the treaty which he was entered into failing only for want of the money which he could not pay. But, in ſhort, he had had nothing, and it was juſt, at leaſt in reſpect to me, that he ſhould be provided for. The Preſident de Bellievre had had for ſome time the place of firſt preſident in view, but being a man of good ſenſe, he thought no more of it as ſoon as he ſaw the Court get the uppermoſt; and the very day that the Duke and the Prince ſent Meſſieurs de Rohan, de Chavigny, and Goulas, to St. Germains, he ſaid theſe words to me, 'I muſt do 'like the ſnail, retire within my ſhell; there is no-'thing more to expect, and I deſiſt from all preten-'ſions.' He was as good as his word; and a great and dangerous defluction that fell at that time on one of his eyes, ſerved as a pretence to it, and made his retirement not ſeem ſtrange.

Mr.

Mr. de Caumartin went into Poitou to be married, a month or five weeks before the King resolved upon returning, and he continued there when the Court arrived at Paris. He had certainly had a greater share than any one in my most secret affairs, he had acted with a greater faithfulness and capacity, and even without any private interest, except that which his honour put him upon, on an occasion in which he knew better than any man living that there was nothing real in the case. The injustice done him upon that subject, obliges me to explain the particulars of it to you.

You have seen, in the second volume of these memoirs, that the Duke was drawn on by the Prince to ask the Queen for the removal of the sub-ministers, and that I had prevented his Royal Highness from taking that step, if he would have believed me, because it was in effect good for nothing at all, and worse for him than for any body else. Laigues, who looked upon the sub-ministers as on men undone, and who was the man in the world upon whose fancy these novelties worked the most, put it into his head to procure the place of secretary at war, which Mr. le Tellier had, to de Nouveau. Madam de Chevreuse mentioned that chimæra in the presence of the little Abbot de Bernay, who reported it to Mr. de Caumartin. This last was in the right to dislike the thing. He came to my house, and asked me if I knew any thing of that design. I smiled, and told him that he must take me for a madman by the question he asked me. That he was not ignorant that no body knew better than I that we were not in a condition to create secretaries of state *; and besides, that if we were in a condition to do it, our choice would not fall upon Mr. de Nouveau. Caumartin exclaimed much against Ma-

* There are four secretaries of state in France, as has been explained before, of whom one hath the management of the war affairs, and is for that reason most commonly called secretary at war.

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dam de Chevreuſe and Laigues, which he had a right to do: 'For though I am fully perſuaded, (ſaid he) 'that what they propoſe is impertinent, it ſhews however that I am not to depend upon their friendſhip.' 'You are much in the right, (anſwered I) and I will 'to-morrow tell them freely my opinion about it. 'At the time (added I) that I am doing my utmoſt 'with the Duke to prevent his puſhing Mr. le Tellier too far, they will be the cauſe by their ill-conduct, that le Tellier will think that it is I that am 'working his ruin.'

I upbraided them both with it the next day, but they denied the fact; this made a noiſe, and that noiſe came to the ears of Mr. le Tellier, who thought by it that we were already in diſpute about his place. He never forgave it, as it has appeared to me ſince, either to Mr. de Caumartin, or to me. Moſt enmities that are ſeen at Courts, have no better ground than this; and I have obſerved, that thoſe that are the worſt grounded are the moſt obſtinate. The reaſon of it is plain; for offences which occaſion enmities of this nature, conſiſting chiefly in the imagination, never fail to grow bigger and bigger, in a ſoil which always abounds but too much in evil humours, the proper food of all enmities. Forgive me this ſmall digreſſion, which even is not unneceſſary to the ſubject I am treating of, ſince it ſhews you that I was ſtill the more obliged not to forget Mr. de Caumartin's intereſt in my accommodation. It was not that gentleman however that obſtructed it. He very well knew that there was not ſtuff enough left to be prodigal of. He had told me ſeveral times before he went into Poitou, that it was hard, but that it was neceſſary that we ſhould ſuffer, even from the ill conduct of our enemies: that as for his part, he ceaſed to look for any private advantage, and that the only thing to be minded now was to ſave the ſhip, in which he might again ſet ſail, as opportunities ſhould preſent: that that ſhip, which was myſelf, could not be ſaved in the ſtate into which things were fallen by the irreſolution

ſolution of the Duke, but by ſtanding a-loof, and ſailing eaſtward, that is, towards Rome. I remember that the day he took his leave of me, before he went into Poitou, he ſpoke to me in this manner: 'You ſtand now but upon the point of a needle, and 'if they knew at Court their power in reſpect to you, 'they would uſe you as they will do others. Your 'courage makes you hold a countenance that deceives 'and diſquiets them. Make uſe of this inſtant to 'get what will be of ſervice to you for your poſt at 'Rome; they will do upon that article all that you 'deſire.'

Of theſe few friends, Mr. de Montreſor was then the only one left; and he was continually ſaying, That as for him, he had no kind of pretenſions. He had even turned into ridicule a letter he had received out of the country from Chandenier, who writ him word that he made no doubt but that I ſhould reſtore him to his poſt *, and make him a Duke and Peer in this conjuncture. It was, however, this Mr. de Montreſor who cauſed all the trouble, and who did it without being moved by any private intereſt, but only by a mere whim. One evening that we were all ſitting round my fire, Joly, who was preſent, ſaid, upon occaſion of ſomething that was ſpoken in the converſation, that he had received a letter from Mr. de Caumartin. He read it, and that letter was full of the ſentiments which I have mentioned, and which were even expreſſed with a great deal of force. I obſerved that Montreſor, who did not naturally love him, appeared with an air full of myſtery, mixed with ſourneſs, at the hearing it, and being extremely well acquainted with his manners and his humour, I let ſome words fall on purpoſe to oblige him to explain himſelf. It was no difficult matter, for he cried out of a ſudden, and even ſwearing, 'We are not men 'to be led by the noſe; he is a villain that ſays that

* Of captain of the Guards du Corps, or life-guards, of which he had been deprived for ſome time.

'his

'his Eminence ought or can come to an honourable 'accommodation except he procures ſomething ad- 'vantageous for his friends. He that ſays ſo, has a 'mind to engroſs all for himſelf.' Theſe words, added to the peeviſh humour I had obſerved in him for ſome days againſt the Princeſs Palatine, convinced me that he thought that Caumartin, who was a particular friend of that Princeſs's, had taken ſome private meaſures with her, tending to his own profit, excluſively of the reſt. I did my beſt to undeceive him, but without ſucceſs. He ſucceeded better in deceiving the others, for he brought the like ſuſpicion into the head of Mr. de Briſſac, who was indeed a man of wax, and the moſt ſuſceptible of any impreſſions of any one I ever knew. Mr. de Briſſac inſpired the like thought to Madam de Leſdiguieres, who loved him entirely at that time. Perſons who are in theſe bad diſpoſitions, never fail to ſupport them with all manner of ideas that will ſerve to perſuade them that a conduct, oppoſite to that they ſtand in fear of, is not only a thing poſſible, but even eaſy. A like fancy gets into the heads of others, and is communicated to the ſubalterns of the party. The ſecret is whiſpered about from ear to ear, and cauſes at firſt but a little murmuring; that murmuring changes into a noiſe which cauſes three or four pernicious effects, both in reſpect to one's own patry, and in reſpect to the party one oppoſes. This is exactly what happened to me, and I was ſurprized to ſee all my friends divided upon what I ſhould or what I ſhould not do, as well as upon what I could or what I could not do, which brought the Court to look upon me as upon a man who either pretended to ſhare the miniſtry, or to ſell my pretenſions very dear. I perceived and felt the danger of the ſituation I was in, and yet I reſolved to run all the riſk, to which I was moved by that ſame principle which has cauſed me all my life long to take too much upon me. There is nothing ſo pernicious, according to the rules of politics. We ſeldom have any thanks given us for it; and it is certain

that

that of all things, good intentions ought the leaſt to be overſtretched. I have met with great inconveniencies from not obſerving that rule, both in matters of ſtate, and in domeſtic affairs. But every body will allow, that it is a very hard matter to forſake what flatters at once our inclination and our morals. That is the reaſon why I could hardly ever repent the following that conduct, though it has coſt me my impriſonment, and all the conſequences of it, which have not been little. If I had followed a contrary one, by accepting the offers of Mr. Servien, I ſhould have got out of trouble, and have avoided all the misfortunes which have ſince almoſt cruſhed me. I could not indeed have avoided at firſt an inconvenience which always attends thoſe, who being at the head of great affairs, get themſelves out of them, without procuring ſome advantages to thoſe who are engaged with them. Time would have put an end to their complaints, which fortune might even have turned to my advantage by ſome good events. I can perceive all this, but without regretting it, having been led with pleaſure to an oppoſite conduct, by the motive which I have mentioned. And conſidering that, except religion and good manners, all the reſt ought, in my opinion, to be looked upon as indifferent, I think I may reaſonably be well ſatisfied with what I have done. I refuſed, as I have told you, Mr. Servien's propoſals, which were, that the King would grant me the ſuperintendancy of his affairs in Italy, with a penſion of 50,000 crowns a year; that I ſhould receive 100,000 crowns towards paying my debts, and 50,000 for the furniture of a palace at Rome, where I was to ſtay for three years, after which I was left at liberty to return to my poſt at Paris. I did not, however, refuſe Mr. Servien point blank. I continued to live civilly with him; he came to my houſe, and I went to his. We entered into a negotiation, but he ſoon judged that it would come to nothing, becauſe his power did not extend to any thing that related to the intereſt of my friends,

though I had felt his pulſe upon that ſubject, to which he was oppoſite at the bottom. The Princeſs Palatine, in whom I confided moſt, was not fully perſuaded at firſt, that nothing was to be done for my friends; but ſhe perceived at laſt, that there was even ſomething worſe than that upon the anvil, and that the ill offices of Servien, and of the Abbot Fouquet, extended further than to the breaking my negotiation. She informed me of it, and ſhe declared to me that ſhe would no longer meet me at Joly's, where ſhe was uſed to come to me in a hackney-chair, by a back-door, between ten and eleven at night. She convinced me that there was ſome danger for me in theſe ſecret conferences, and ſhe frankly told me, that I ought to treat with the Cardinal himſelf, becauſe all the ſubalterns were againſt me, one for one reaſon, another for another. Madam de Leſdiguieres ſent me word, that all I had to do was to ſet a good face upon the matter, and to ſtay at my own houſe: that the Cardinal, who was amuſing himſelf on the frontiers upon trifling matters in Mr. de Turenne's army, where you may be ſure he had but little to do, and who was impatient to be at Paris, but who durſt not come thither ſo long as I remained there, would build a golden bridge for my going out of it, and would grant me whatever I ſhould aſk him. The firſt Preſident had ſpoke to Madam de Leſdiguieres in that ſtrain, and had told her, that to his knowledge they wiſhed for nothing more at Court than to come to an accommodation with me, which occaſioned Joly, as I remember, to ſay to me, 'A new blow.' It was a blow indeed; for though all theſe reports did not perſuade me, they were an obſtacle to my concluding any thing with Servien, and they at laſt obliged me to follow the Princeſs Palatine's advice, which was to treat with the Cardinal himſelf. I wrote to the Biſhop of Châlons, to deſire him to go to his Eminence, and to declare plainly my demands to him, which were the government of Anjou for Mr. de Briſſac, and ſome poſts likewiſe for Meſſieurs de Montmorenci, d'Argen-

d'Argenteuil, de Chateau Brian, &c. There was no manner of difficulty as to these last, and I am persuaded there had been but little in relation to Mr. de Brissac. Langlade, who passed just at that time through Châlons, retarded undesignedly the Bishop's journey, by telling him that the Cardinal was to be at such a place upon such a day. That delay was the cause of my imprisonment, because Servien and the Abbot Fouquet hastened it, by telling the Queen that there was too much danger in leaving things in the state in which they were. They never ceased to buz in her ears that I continued my correspondence with the annuitants, that I did my best to inflame them, and that I was likewise forming cabals with the trained-band officers. An accident happened, on the 13th of November, which contributed very much to incense the Court. The King held his bed of justice at the parliament, in order to have his declaration, whereby he declared the Prince of Condé guilty of high treason, registred there; and he had sent to me, the day before, Saintot, lieutenant of the ceremonies, to command me in his name to be present there. My answer to Saintot was, that I most humbly begged leave of his Majesty to represent to him, that considering upon what terms I was with the Prince, I thought that it would be neither just nor becoming, that I should give my vote in a deliberation upon which his condemnation depended. Saintot replied to this, that somebody having told the Queen that I would use that argument to excuse myself, her Majesty had answered that it was good for nothing; and that Mr. de Guise, who owed his liberty † to the instances which

† The Duke de Guise had been taken prisoner at Naples by the Spaniards, and removed to Spain, where he was kept in prison for several years, and in all likelihood had remained there longer, if the Prince of Condé, who had now joined the Spaniards, had not interposed his good offices with them in the Duke's behalf; notwithstanding which, the Duke, after he had recovered his liberty, refused to join with the Prince, or to enter into his party.

the Prince had made in his behalf, would be preſent notwithſtanding. I told Saintot upon this, that if I was of the ſame profeſſion as Mr. de Guiſe, I ſhould glory in imitating the great actions he had lately done at Naples. You can't imagine how much the Queen was exaſperated at my excuſe. It was explained to her as a convincing proof of the regard I had for the Prince, and what I did purely and ſincerely out of a principle of civility, to which. I am ſtill perſuaded that I was obliged, paſſed with her for a certain proof of the meaſures which I had already taken, or was upon the point of taking with him. Nothing was falſer, and yet nothing was more believed; and the Queen was ſo ſtrongly perſuaded of it, that ſhe reſolved to play quit or double to get rid of me.

Touteville, a captain in the guards, and one of the Abbot Fouquet's Satellites, hired a houſe pretty near Madam de Pomereux's, in which he deſigned to put a ſet of men to attack me. Le Fay, an officer in the artillery, and one of thoſe who had aſſiſted at the ridiculous aſſembly at the Palais-Royal, inſinuated himſelf with Pau, who was at that time clerk of my kitchen, and whom you have ſeen ſince my ſteward, in order to be informed of him at what hours I went out at night. Pradelle had an order, ſigned by the King's own hand, to attack me in the ſtreets, and to take me dead or alive. That which was given to the Mareſchal de Vitri, when he killed the Mareſchal d'Ancre, was not more ſtrict. I have heard of this order given to Pradelle only ſince my return into France, by means of the Archbiſhop of Rheims, who ſaid two or three years ago to the Biſhop of Châlons and to Mr. de Caumartin, that he had ſeen the original of it. I had ſome notice given me time enough of Touteville's deſign, but I looked upon it to be but the view of a hair-brained man, who complained of me for having favoured, to his prejudice, a friend of mine, who courted one Mrs. Darmet. I ought at leaſt to have taken a greater notice about Le Fay's offers to the clerk of my kitchen, but I looked upon

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it as an effect only of the unquietneſs of the ſubalterns, who would ſet a watch upon my actions. Mr. de Briſſac told me one day, that I ought to look to myſelf with a greater precaution; that he received informations from all hands relating to me, and that he had that moment received a billet from an unknown hand, entreating him to prevent my going that day to Rambouillet, where we had taken a fancy to go and walk, though we were very far gone in November. I made no doubt but that this billet was writ by ſome body belonging to the court, with a deſign to ſound both my courage and my ſtrength. I went thither, accompanied by two hundred gentlemen, and I found there a great many officers of the guards, and among others Rubantel, a truſty confident of the Abbot Fouquet's. I don't know whether their deſign was to attack me, but they found me in a condition not to be attacked. They ſaluted me with a great deal of reſpect; I entered into converſation with ſome of them whom I knew, and I came back to my houſe as well pleaſed with myſelf as if I had committed no fault. But what I did was certainly wrong, and was only likely to incenſe the Court the more againſt me. It is natural upon ſuch motives to grow angry and to fall into paſſions, in which it is very hard to preſerve a right conduct. What I am going to tell you will ſhew you further in what my conduct was defective.

I deſigned to preach during the Advent, at leaſt upon Sundays and holy-days, in the moſt conſiderable churches in Paris; and I began upon All-Saints day at St. Germain's, which is the King's pariſh. Their Majeſties did me the honour to aſſiſt at my ſermon, and I went the next day to return them thanks. But the informations I received about the danger I ran increaſing daily, I ceaſed to go to the Louvre, in which I committed a fault, in my opinion; for I believe that that circumſtance contributed more than any other to determine the Queen to cauſe me to be arreſted. I only ſay that I believe it, it being impoſſible to know

it for certain, except one knew first whether Cardinal Mazarin had designed before-hand that I should be arrested, or whether he only approved of the thing after it was done. It is what I could never precisely know, those that belonged to the Court having since spoken to me very differently about it. Lionne has all along told me, that the Cardinal had formed no design against my person; and some body, whom I have forgot, has assured me, that he had heard Mr. le Tellier say the contrary. What is most certain is, that had it not been for a circumstance, which I shall mention immediately, I had not gone to the Louvre, but had kept upon my guard, so that notwithstanding the order given to Pradelle, I had in all likelihood puzzled the matter long enough at least, to expect Cardinal Mazarin's answer. I was advised from all hands to keep at home, and I remember that Mr. d'Hacqueville told me one evening, with some anger, 'You have been able to keep within doors 'during three weeks upon account of the Prince: is 'it possible that you can't stay at home during three 'days upon account of the King?'

I will tell you what prevented me from doing it. Madam de Lesdiguieres, whom I had reason to think very well informed, and who was in effect commonly so, pressed me extremely to go to the Louvre, saying, that I could not but own, that supposing there was no danger for me in going, it would be best for me to go for many reasons. I agreed to what she said, if indeed I might go there with safety, which was a supposition I could not allow. 'Are you,' said she, 'hindered from going by that consideration only?' 'By no other,' answered I. 'Then you may go to-'morrow,' replied she, 'for I am very well informed 'of all the game that is playing there.' That game was, that they had held there a secret council, in which, after great contests, it had been resolved that they should come to an accommodation with me, and should even give me satisfaction in relation to my friends. I am fully convinced that Madam de Les-

diguieres

diguieres did not deceive me, neither am I leſs perſuaded that the Mareſchal de Villeroi did not deceive Madam de Leſdiguieres. But the Mareſchal was himſelf deceived, which has been the reaſon that I have never ſpoke to him of it. I was drawn in this manner to go to the Louvre upon the 19th of December, and I was arreſted in the Queen's anti-chamber by Mr. de Villequier, who ſerved his quarter as captain of the guards. Mr. d'Hacqueville was very near to have prevented it. He was walking in the court as I came into the Louvre, and joining me as I came out of my coach, we went together to Madam de Villeroi, where I deſigned to ſtay till the King could be waited upon. That gentleman left me there, and went up ſtairs, where he met with Montmege, who told him, that it was in every body's mouth that I was going to be arreſted. Mr. d' Hacqueville hearing this, came down ſtairs as faſt as he could to inform me of it, and to carry me away by the kitchen-court, which was next to Madam de Villeroi's apartment. I was gone up, but he miſſed me but a moment, which moment had infallibly procured my liberty. I am as much obliged to Mr. d'Hacqueville as if he had got me ſafe away; but I know that gentleman too well not to be convinced that it was otherwiſe with him. Mr. de Villequier carried me to an apartment where the officers of the King's kitchen brought me ſome dinner. They took it mighty ill at Court that I had dined very heartily, ſo great is the corruption and baſeneſs of courtiers. I had more reaſon to take it ill to have my pockets turned inſide out, as they do to pick-pockets. Mr. de Villequier had orders to do it, though it was an uncommon thing. They found there nothing but a letter of the King of England's *, who charged me to make ſome attempt at Rome towards raiſing him a ſum of money

* The whole account, in relation to this letter, is inſerted in the fourth volume, taken from the Earl of Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion.

there. The noiſe of this letter was immediately ſpread up and down the Court; and a man of quality, whoſe name I ſhall forbear to mention in regard to one of his brothers who is my friend, thought to make his court by ſaying, that it muſt needs be a letter from the Protector and not the King of England. How baſe that was! About three in the afternoon I was carried all along the great gallery of the Louvre, and I was brought down the ſtairs of the pavilion of the Dutcheſs of Orleans. We met with one of the King's coaches, into which I was put, having with me Mr. de Villequier, and five or ſix officers of the life-guards. The coach was driven at firſt towards the city, but it turned of a ſudden towards the gate of the conference. It was guarded by the Mareſchal d'Albret, at the head of the Gens d'Armes; by Mr. de la Vauguyon, at the head of the light-horſe; and by Mr. de Vennes, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of guards, who had with him eight companies of that regiment. As they deſigned to carry me out by the gate of St. Anthony, and as they muſt go near two other gates before they got thither, they had poſted at each gate a battalion of Switzers, who preſented their pikes to the town as we went by. You ſee by this that there was a great deal of precaution uſed, and that without any manner of need. Not one ſoul ſtirred in the city. There appeared there ſorrow and conſternation, but it was not carried to any commotion, either becauſe the conſternation was in effect too great, or becauſe thoſe that were well affected to me were diſcouraged to find no body appear that would head them. I have heard ſince people ſpeak differently about it. Le Houx, a butcher, but a man of credit with the people, has told me that all the butchers of the place Aux-Veaux were upon the point of taking up arms; and that if the Duke de Briſſac had not aſſured them that that was a ſure way to have me murdered, he had ſet up barricadoes at that quarter with the greateſt eaſe poſſible. L'Eſpinal has told me the like of the whole ſtreet of Montmartre.

martre. But as I think, the Marquis de Château-Renaut, who was that whole day very busy in attempting to stir up the people, has told me that he found no room to do it; and I know for certain, that Malclerc, who ran up and down, to the same purpose, over the bridges of Nôtre-Dame and of St. Michael, which were at my disposal, found all the women there crying, and all the men in a fright, and incapable of doing any thing. However no body can be answerable for what might have happened, had there been but a sword drawn. When there is none drawn on these occasions, every body judges that nothing could have been done; and if there had been no barricadoes at the taking of Mr. de Brousel, those that had spoke the least word, even of the possibility of the thing, had been laughed at. I arrived at Vincennes betwixt eight and nine at night, and the Mareschal d'Albret having asked me as I came out of the coach, if I had no message to send to the King; I answered him, that I should think it a want of respect in me if I took that liberty.

I was carried into a great room where there was neither hangings nor bed. The bed that was set up about eleven at night was of Indian silk, which was not very proper for the winter season. I slept very well, which ought not to be attributed to any firmness, because misfortunes naturally produce that effect on me *. I have experienced in more than one occasion, that it keeps me awake in the day-time, and inclines me to sleep at night. This is not, as I have said, the effect of any firmness of mind, having observed after a thorough examination, that it proceeds from the heaviness into which I fall, when the reflections I make upon any thing that troubles me, are not diverted by my struggling against them.

* Mr. de St. Evremont, speaking of Mademoiselle de Beverweert, sister to the late Countess of Arlington, &c. says, that she never slept so well as when she was under some great affliction. See the Works of St. Evremond, published in Holland by Mr. des Maizeaux, volume the fourth, p. 55.

I take a mighty pleaſure in unfolding myſelf to you, if I may uſe that expreſſion, and in giving you an account of the moſt ſecret motions of my heart.

I was obliged to riſe the next morning without any fire, there being no wood to make any; but the three exempts of the guards that were with me when I came firſt to the caſtle, were ſo kind as to aſſure me that I ſhould have ſome the next day. He that was left to ſtay in the room with me, kept the next day the wood for himſelf, and ſo he did for a whole fortnight together, that I was left without any fire at Chriſtmas in a room as big as a church. That exempt's name was Croiſat, he was a Gaſcon, and had been, at leaſt as the report went, valet-de-chambre to Servien. I do not believe that it had been poſſible to have found his like in the whole world. He took away from me my linen, my cloaths, my ſhoes, and I was ſometimes obliged to ſtay in bed for eight or ten days together, for want of any thing to put on. I do not believe that I could have been treated in that manner, without an expreſs order for it, and without a formed deſign to kill me with grief. I armed myſelf againſt that deſign, and I reſolved not to die at leaſt that ſort of death. I diverted myſelf at firſt in compoſing the life of my exempt, who was as great a rogue, without any exaggeration, as Lazarilles of Tormes *, or Buſcon. I brought him at laſt to ceaſe to torment me, by taking no manner of notice of whatever he could ſay or do. I never appeared angry at him, I never complained of any thing, and never gave him the leaſt room to think that I was offended at any thing he ſaid, though he ſaid not one word but with an intent to vex me. He cauſed a little garden of two or three fathom to be made in the yard belonging to the tower, and as I was aſking him what he intended to do with it, he told me that he deſigned to have aſpa-

* Two Spaniſh rogues, whoſe lives and actions have been written in Spaniſh, and have been tranſlated in moſt other languages.

ragus

ragus in it, which you must observe are three years a growing. This was one of his softest sayings, and I was regaled every day with twenty such, which I took care to swallow with as much ease as possible, but that did but increase his brutishness, because he said that I laughed at him.

The instances of the chapter of the cathedral, and of all the Curates of Paris, who acted for me to the utmost of their power, though my uncle, who was the weakest man in the world, and jealous of me even to the making himself ridiculous, supported them but very faintly; their instances, I say, obliged the Court to explain themselves about the causes of my imprisonment, which was done by the mouth of the Chancellor. That magistrate declared to these several bodies, in the presence of the King and of the Queen-mother, that his Majesty had caused me to be arrested for my own good only, and to hinder me from executing what there was room to believe I had in view. The Chancellor has told me since my return into France, that it was he that persuaded the Queen to approve that he should give that turn to this affair, under pretence of eluding more plausibly the demand which the church of Paris made in a body, either to bring me to a trial, or to set me at liberty; and he added, that his true design had been to serve me, in obliging the Court to acknowledge my innocence, at least as to matters past.

It is certain that my friends made a mighty use of that answer of the Chancellor's, which was set off as it ought, in two or three very ingenious pamphlets. Mr. de Caumartin did, in this conjuncture and in those that followed, all that the most sincere friendship and the most refined honour could inspire him with. Mr. d'Hacqueville redoubled his care and his zeal for me. The chapter of Nôtre-Dame caused an anthem to be sung every day publicly and expressly for my liberty. Not one of the curates, except that of St. Bartholomew, forsook me. The Sorbonne signalized itself, and even many of the regulars declared

openly and vigorously for me. The Bishop of Châlons warmed the hearts and the minds of others, by his reputation and his example. This kind of general stirring obliged the Court to use me a little better than they had done at first. I was allowed a certain number of books, but without any ink or paper, and I had likewise a valet de chambre and a physician granted me; upon which occasion I must not omit a circumstance somewhat remarkable. This physician, who was a man of merit and of reputation in his profession, and whose name was Vacherot, told me the same day that he arrived at Vincennes, that Mr. de Caumartin had charged him to inform me, that Goisel, an advocate who had foretold the liberty of Mr. de Beaufort, had assured him that I should have mine in the month of March, but in an imperfect manner, and that I should not have it fully and intirely till the month of August. You will find by the sequel that the prediction was true.

I applied myself very much to study during the whole time of my imprisonment at Vincennes, which lasted fifteen months, and I employed in it not only the days, but even the nights. I made a particular study of the Latin tongue, to which I found that it is impossible to apply one's self too much, because that study comprehends all others. I made some observations upon the Greek tongue, and upon the ninth decade of Livy, which I had very much liked formerly, and in which I met again with a new relish. In imitation of Boëtius, I composed the Consolation of Theology, wherein I shewed that every prisoner ought to endeavour to make himself the Vinctus in Christo, which St. Paul speaks of. I gathered in a kind of Silva a great many things upon different subjects, and among others an application for the use of the church of Paris, of what was contained in the book of the acts of the Church of Milan, and I intitled that work Partus Vincennarum. My exempt omitted nothing to interrupt the quiet of my studies, and to give me as much vexation as he thought he could. He told me one

one day, that the King had ordered him to carry me upon the plat-form to take the air. When he thought that I took ſome pleaſure there, he then told me with a joy that he could not have diſſembled if he would, that he had received a counter-order. My anſwer was, that it came very pat, becauſe the air which was too ſharp upon the platform, had brought a pain into my head. Four days after he propoſed to me to go down and ſee my guards play at tennis. I deſired to be excuſed, becauſe the air would be too piercing, but he forced me to go, ſaying that the King, who took a greater care of my health than I imagined, had commanded him to make me uſe ſome exerciſe. Ceaſing afterwards to carry me thither, he told me for his excuſe, that he had ſome reaſons for it which he could not diſcover to me. I had indeed put myſelf above theſe little chicanes, which I deſpiſed at the bottom, and was not moved with. But I confeſs that I had not the ſame ſtrength of mind, in reſpect to the ſubſtance of the thing, which was my impriſonment; and when I came, every morning when I was awake, to conſider that I was in the power of my enemies, I found nothing in me that reliſhed of the Stoick. I kept this trouble hid from every ſoul, and that was the reaſon that it became extreme. The hiding of it was an effect of that pride which is natural to man, and I remember that I was twenty times a day thinking to myſelf that an impriſonment for ſtate matters was the very worſt ſort of impriſonment.

You have already ſeen that I made uſe of ſtudy to divert my trouble. I ſometimes made uſe likewiſe of other means. I had ſome rabbits upon the platform; I kept turtles in one of the turrets, and pigeons in the other. The continual inſtances of the church of Paris procured me from time to time theſe innocent diverſions, which, though mixed with a thouſand chicanes, amuſed me however, and the more agreeably, becauſe I had often thought upon them, when it came into my mind to conſider what I ſhould paſs my time in, if ever I came to be arreſted. Theſe diver-

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sions however did not amuse me so much as to hinder me from thinking earnestly upon the means of escaping out of prison, and the correspondence which I had all along with my friends gave me room to think of it, and to hope for some success.

The ninth day of my imprisonment, one of my two guards named Carpentier, approached near me whilst his comrade was asleep (for I was watched both night and day at least by one of the two) and he slipt a note into my hand, which at first sight I knew to come from Madam de Pomereu. The note contained only these words: 'Trust the bearer, and write a 'line by him.' He then gave me a pencil, and a bit of paper, on which I only writ that I had received the note. Madame de Pomereu had found means to become acquainted with the wife of this Carpentier, and had given her 500 crowns for this first service. The husband was used to that sort of trade, and had not been unserviceable to Mr. de Beaufort in procuring his liberty. He is dead himself, and so are likewise his wife and family, which gives me room to be the more free. But considering that some unforeseen accident may bring to light whatever is set down in writing, you must give me leave to enter into no particulars that relate to the other manner of corresponding with my friends, which I had besides this, and in which some of the persons concerned are still living. It is enough that I tell you, that notwithstanding the changing of three exempts, and of 24 life-guardmen, who succeeded one another during the 15 months I staid at Vincennes, my correspondence was never interrupted.

I received twice a week regularly letters from Madam de Pomereu, and from Messieurs de Caumartin and d'Hacqueville, which tended all towards seeking out means to set me at liberty. The shortest way was to escape out of my prison. I made two attempts towards it, one of which was suggested to me by my physician, who understood mathematicks. He took it into his head to file off the bar of the grate of a little window

window that was in the chapel where I heard maſs, and to tie to the window a ſort of machine, with which I might, 'tis true, have got down eaſily enough from the third ſtory wherein I was lodged, into the ditch. But conſidering that I muſt from thence climb up the wall, from whence there was no way afterwards of getting down, he quitted that thought, which indeed was impracticable, and we ſtuck to another which in all likelihood would have done, if it had not pleaſed Providence to prevent the execution of it. I had obſerved at the time that I was carried upon the platform, that there was at the very top of it a cavity, the uſe of which I could never gueſs. It was about half filled up, but there was room enough left to get down into it, and to hide one's ſelf in it. This brought a thought into my head, that upon the day that Carpentier was to guard me, and whilſt all the reſt of the guards, except his comrade, were at dinner, it would be an eaſy matter to make that comrade drunk. The man, whoſe name was Tourville, was old, and a few glaſſes of wine were enough to make him dead drunk, as Carpentier had experienced it more than once. I propoſed to make uſe of that moment to go upon the platform, and to hide myſelf in the cavity which I have mentioned, with a proviſion of ſome loaves, and of ſome bottles both of wine and water. Carpentier owned that this firſt ſtep was not only poſſible, but even eaſy, and what made it the more ſo, was that the two guards who were to relieve his comrade and him, had always had the civility not to come into my chamber, but ſtay at the door till they thought I was awake; for I had uſed myſelf to ſleep in the afternoon, or at leaſt to make my guards think ſo. Carpentier was to have tied two cords to the window of the gallery, through which Mr. de Beaufort had eſcaped, and to have thrown into the ditch a woven engine, which Mr. Vacherot had been working upon all night long in his chamber, by means of which it might have been thought that I had got up the wall, which

which had been made ſince Mr. de Beaufort's eſcape. This truſty guard was at the ſame time to have given an alarm, as if he had ſeen me paſs into the gallery, and to have ſhewn his ſword ſtained with blood, as if he had wounded me in purſuing me. This alarm would have gathered together the whole guard, who had found the cords tied to the window. They would have perceived in the ditch the engine I mentioned, ſtained likewiſe with blood. Eight or ten men on horſeback were to have appeared in the wood that ſurrounds Vincennes, with piſtols in their hands, ready to receive me. A man with a red calot on his head was to have been ſeen as running out of Vincennes, and after having joined thoſe that were waiting for him, he was to have marched with part of them towards Mezieres, whilſt the others would have marched another way. The guns were to have been fired at Mezieres three or four days after, as if I was actually arrived there. Who would ever have thought that I had been in the hole I have mentioned? They would in all likelihood have removed the guards from the caſtle of Vincennes, and would have left there only the ſoldiers that were uſually in it, who had given leave to the inhabitants of Paris to come in for two-pence a-piece to ſee the window and the cord I eſcaped by, as they did thoſe of Mr. de Beaufort. My friends had come thither out of curioſity as well as the reſt, they had diſguiſed me in a woman's or a monk's habit, or what elſe you pleaſe, and I had got away without the leaſt ſuſpicion. I do not think that any thing could have rendered the Court more ridiculous than my eſcaping in this manner. It was ſo extraordinary, that it may appear impoſſible, notwithſtanding which it was certainly eaſy, and I am fully perſuaded that the ſucceſs would have been infallible, if one of the guards, whoſe name was l'Eſcarmouche, had not ſpoiled it by mere accident. He was ſent to Vincennes in the room of another who fell ſick, and being an old hard-hearted and obſerving man, he told the exempt, that he did not conceive

why

why he did not cauſe a door to be made at the foot of the little ſtair-caſe that went up to the platform: the door was ſet up there the next morning, and ſo my project came to nothing. That ſame l'Eſcarmouche told me in a very friendly manner that ſame evening, that if his Majeſty was pleaſed to order it, he would ſtrangle me.

I did not apply myſelf ſo entirely to the finding out the means of eſcaping from Vincennes, as to neglect thoſe which might oblige my enemies to ſet me at liberty. The Abbot Charrier, who went for Rome the very next day after my being arreſted, found Pope Innocent incenſed at it even to a rage, and ready to thunder out excommunications upon the authors of a deed, for which he had the examples of what his predeceſſors had done in ſome like caſes. He explained himſelf upon it with an extreme reſentment to the ambaſſador of France. He ſent Mr. Marini, Archbiſhop of Avignon, as nuncio in extraordinary, to demand my liberty. The King, on his ſide, reſolved upon maintaining his royal authority. He ſent to forbid Monſignor Marini to come further than Lyons. The Pope grew afraid of expoſing both his own power and that of the church, to the rage of a madman, meaning Mazarin, for he uſed that expreſſion, ſpeaking to the Abbot Charrier; to whom he ſaid further: 'Furniſh me with an army, and I will ſend a legate 'at the head of it.' It would have been no eaſy matter to have furniſhed him with an army, but the thing would not have been impoſſible, if thoſe that were obliged to ſtand my friends on this occaſion had not failed me.

You have ſeen in the ſecond volume of theſe memoirs that I might have reckoned upon the town of Mezieres *, becauſe Buſſi-lamet, who was governor of it,

* The towns of Mezieres and of Charleville are both in Champaign, and ſituated on the river Maeze, and at a very ſmall diſtance one from the other. The place called Mont-Olimpe lies over againſt Charleville, on the other ſide of the river.

was

was my particular friend; and that I had likewiſe a right to reckon upon Charleville and the Mont-Olimpe, becauſe Mr. de Noirmoutier had been made governor of theſe two places, by my means only. You have likewiſe ſeen that this laſt had failed me at the time that Cardinal Mazarin came back into France. He thought it ſufficient for his juſtification to tell every body that he would ſerve me to all intents and purpoſes in what concerned my perſon; and there being hardly any thing that touches the perſon of a man nearer than impriſonment, Noirmoutier joined himſelf publicly to Buſſi-lamet, as ſoon as I was arreſted, and they wrote a letter jointly to the Cardinal, whereby they declared that they ſhould be forced to carry matters to all manner of extremities, if I was detained longer in priſon. The places of which theſe two gentlemen were governors, are not to be attacked when they are of the ſame party, and are conſequently of an extreme importance; but what made them be at this time ſtill of a greater, was that the Prince, who at the firſt news he had of my detention, declared that he would do without exception all that my friends ſhould deſire of him towards procuring my liberty, had offered the two governors to ſend the whole forces of Spain to their aſſiſtance. Belle-Iſle beſides, of which Mr. de Retz was maſter, was no contemptible place, becauſe of its nearneſs to England, on which France could not depend at that time; and Bourdeaux, as well as Brouage, were ſtill at that time holding out for the Prince. This and many other circumſtances of that nature, as for example the diſpoſition of the Count d'Autel, who was in Bethune, and who would have certainly ſtirred in my favour, if he had ſeen any enterprize well formed; this, I ſay, made many people believe that there was wherewithal to have formed ſuch an enterprize, that is, that there was a ſufficient quantity of ſtuff, but by ill luck there was nobody capable of making a right uſe of it. The intentions of the Duke de Retz, my brother, were good, but he was

unfit

unfit for any great deſign, and he was beſides kept back by his wife, and by his father-in-law. The Duke de Briſſac, who had been ordered to retire, was not a man at all fit to head an affair. The Duke de Noirmoutier was the moſt venturesome, but he was brought over at firſt to the Court party by Madam de Chevreuſe, and by Laigues, to whom the Cardinal ſaid in expreſs terms, that they ſhould be anſwerable to him for the actions of their friends, and that if they cauſed a ſingle gun to be fired, they ſhould ſee how it ſhould fare with them both. Mr. de Noirmoutier, whoſe friendſhip for me, as you have already ſeen, was not over violent, yielded to the inſtances of his friends, and of his lady, who is not one of the beſt of her ſex, and he promiſed the Court * that he would give me only appearances, but would in reality do nothing for me.

That gentleman was as good as his word; he did not any ways traverſe the ſiege of Stenay, which the King made at that time. He eluded all the propoſals of the Prince, and he contented himſelf with continuing to ſpeak and write in my behalf, and having many guns fired when my health was drank. He could hardly however have acted that part long, if Buſſi-lamet, who was a man of ſenſe and reſolution, had lived. This laſt ſpoke to Malclerc, whom my friends had ſent to him, in this very manner: 'Noir-'moutier deſigns to amuſe me, but I ſhall bring him 'to declare himſelf, or I ſhall get maſter of his 'place.' The poor gentleman died of an apoplexy that very night. The Chevalier de Lamet, who was a major in the place, being become the maſter of it by the other's death, the Viſcount his eldeſt brother threw himſelf into it, and remained very faithfully attached to my intereſt. The Abbot de Lamet, their

* The Mareſchal de Villeroy gave notice of that engagement with the Court to Madam de Leſdiguieres upon the 14th day of my impriſonment. N. B. This note, which I have ſet down as it is in the French copy, ſeems to have been written by the Cardinal de Retz himſelf.

couſin

couſin and mine, and who was maſter of my chamber *, ſtaid all the while at Mezieres, and ſerved me there with all the zeal imaginable; but one place being able to do no good without the help of the other, nothing was done, and Mezieres, Charleville, and the Mont-Olimpe, were for me without being uſeful to me. It coſt me however a large ſum of money, which Mr. de Retz, my brother, lent for ſubſiſting the garriſon, and which I have repaid ſince with intereſt.

You may judge that all theſe particulars, which I was punctually informed of, did not give me a little trouble, but the greateſt was my hiding the knowledge I had of them; and I remember that Mr. de Pradelle, who commanded the French and Switz guards that were in the caſtle, and who had the liberty to ſee me, as well as Mr. de Maupeou de Noiſi, who was a captain in the guards; I remember, I ſay, that Mr. de Pradelle told me one day that he was grieved at heart at a piece of news which he thought himſelf obliged to mention to me, and that was the death of Mr. de Buſſi-lamet. I appeared ſurprized at it, though I knew it as well as he. This Mr. de Pradelle was ſo kind as to comfort me in this ſame converſation, againſt the fear I might have that they would undertake ſomething at Mezieres againſt his Majeſty's ſervice, and he aſſured me that that place was in the hands of the officer whom the King had ſent to command there. Obſerve, I beſeech you, that I had received the day before a billet from the Viſcount Lamet, who aſſured me that he was maſter of it, and that I might rely upon him. I received however for truth whatever Pradelle was pleaſed to tell me upon that account, as well as moſt of his other diſcourſes, which were ſuch as are commonly uſed towards priſoners of ſtate. I ſay, that I received moſt of his other diſcourſes for truth, becauſe there were ſome

* An officer who introduces perſons into a Cardinal's preſence, and who has the direction of his chamber.

which.

which I could not appear to take in that manner. That gentleman, whose talk was commonly about the weather, or about matters past before my imprisonment, took it once into his head to acquaint me with the happy return of Cardinal Mazarin to Paris. He embellished his relation with all the ornaments which he thought might displease me, and he magnified extremely the fine reception that was made him at the town-house. I had already been informed of it, and that Mr. Vedeau had harangued him with all the meanness possible. I answered Pradelle, that I was not surprized at it: 'Nor will you be sorry, Sir, re-'plied he, when you know how much regard the 'Cardinal has for you: he has commanded me to 'wait on you, and to assure you of his most humble 'services; and he begs that you would believe that he 'will leave nothing undone to serve you.' I seemed as if my head had been full of other things which prevented my taking notice of this compliment, and I asked him I do not know what question, upon a subject that was altogether foreign to the Cardinal. He began to mention the thing afresh, and as he was pressing me to give him an answer, I told him that I would not have failed to have shewn my gratitude when he spoke first, if I had not been persuaded that the respect which a prisoner owes the King takes away from him the leave of explaining himself in any manner upon any thing that relates to his liberty, till it has pleased the King to restore it him. He understood what I meant; he tried to persuade me to send the Cardinal a more obliging answer; but he lost his labour.

The advices which Cardinal Mazarin received from Rome, and the heat people appeared in, and which even increased in Poitou and at Paris, in respect to my imprisonment, obliged him to give at least some outward demonstrations of his intending me my liberty, and he made use to that purpose of the credulity of Monsignor Bagni, the Pope's Nuncio in France, a man of probity, and of a distinguished birth; but an easy man,

man, and altogether fit to be deceived. The Cardinal ſent him to me, accompanied by Meſſieurs de Brienne and le Tellier, with propoſals for granting me my liberty and great advantages, in caſe I would reſign the Coadjutorſhip of Paris. My friends having ſent me notice that this ſtep would be taken, I heard the propoſal, and anſwered it in a ſet ſpeech, very much becoming an eccleſiaſtick, and which even ſhamed Monſignor Bagni, and brought upon him afterwards a very ſharp reprimand from Rome. This ſpeech, which had been ſent me by Mr. de Caumartin, and which was very fine and very much to the purpoſe, was printed at Paris the next day. The Court was extremely vexed at it. I had another exempt and other guards, but this change brought no interruption to my commerce with my friends.

The inſtances which the chapter of Nôtre-Dame made, obliged the Court to give leave to a canon of that body to be with me, and the chapter choſe one who was of the family of Mr. de Braguelone, who had been bred up with me at the college, and to whom I had even given my prebend. The priſon became too tireſome for him, though he had ſhut himſelf up in it with joy, for my ſake. He fell into a deep melancholy, of which I took notice, and did what lay in my power to perſuade him to leave me, but he would never hearken to it. He was ſeized with a fever, in the fourth fit of which he cut his own throat with a razor. They had the civility in the caſtle, during the whole time I ſtaid there, to hide from me the manner in which he died; but the tragical end of that poor gentleman was enlarged upon by my friends, which did not diminiſh the compaſſion which the people had for me, nor did that compaſſion diminiſh the fears of the Cardinal. Theſe fears brought into his head the thought of transferring me either to Amiens, or to Breſt, or to Havre-de-Grace. I was informed of it, and I counterfeited an illneſs. Veſou was ſent to ſee whether I was really ſick. I was differently informed about the report he made. What prevented

my being removed was the death of the Archbishop of Paris my uncle, which stirred up the minds of the people to such a degree, that the Court thought it fitter to appease them than to increase their discontent. The manner in which I was served in this affair, has something in it very wonderful.

My uncle died at four in the morning, and at five the possession of the Archbishoprick was seized in my name, by virtue of a letter of attorney from me, which appeared to be in very good form *; and Mr. le Tellier, who arrived at Nôtre-Dame at five and a quarter, to oppose it in the King's name, had the satisfaction to hear my bulls fulminated † in the lobby. Whatever is surprizing stirs up the people. This scene was surprizing to the last degree, nothing being more extraordinary than the conjunction of the necessary formalities to an action of that nature, at a time when nobody thought it possible to have observed any one of them. The curates grew still warmer than usual; my friends blowed the fire; the people wanted their Archbishop; the Nuntio, who thought he had been doubly abused by the Court, spoke very high, and threatened them there with ecclesiastical censures. A pamphlet was published, which proved, that all the churches must be shut up. The Cardinal was seized with fear, and his fears inclining him always to negotiate, a negotiation was begun. He was not ignorant of the advantage those have who negotiate with others that are not well informed how matters go. He thought half the time that I was of that number, and he believed it in this conjuncture. He got a hundred proposals to be made to me of permutations, of rich abbeys, of governments, of being restored to the King's favour, and of a solid union with the minister. Pradelle and my exempt spoke of nothing else from morning till night. I had a greater liberty allowed me than ordinary.

* All this was done by the contrivance of Mr. de Caumartin. See *Joli*'s Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 61.

† This verb, which is often taken in another sense, is likewise used for the executing any deed coming from the court of Rome.

They

They would no longer suffer me to stay in my chamber, if the weather could in the least permit that I might walk upon the platform. I feigned as if I reflected not in the least upon all this change, being informed by my friends of what was acting underhand. They sent me word to keep myself close, and not to open myself in any manner to any body, because they knew for certain, by the informations they had, that there was nothing solid at the bottom of the negociation, and that the Court intended only to make me explain myself in a manner which they might take hold of there; as if the resigning my Archbishoprick was not a thing impossible, that the zeal of the clergy, and of the people for me, might thereby grow cooler. I followed exactly my friends instructions*, insomuch that Mr. de Noailles, captain of the guards in waiting, coming to me by the King's order, and making me a speech far different from his manners and from his inclination, which had nothing in it but sweet and civil (for Mazarin obliged him to speak to me much more like an Aga of the Janizaries, than like an officer of a Christian King) I desired his leave to give him my answer down in writing. I cannot remember the words, but I know that it expressed a sovereign contempt for the Cardinal's threats, as well as for his promises, and an unalterable resolution not to resign the Archbishoprick of Paris.

I received a letter from my friends the very next day, which informed me that they had got my answer to Mr. de Noailles immediately printed, and what admirable effect it had produced. They likewise sent me word, that the President de Bellievre was ordered to come and make a second attempt upon me the next day. He came, and offered me in the King's name, the abbeys of St. Lucien de Beauvais, of St. Meddard de Soissons, of St. Germain d'Auxerre, of Barbeau,

* *Joli*, in the account he gives of this whole transaction, differs very much from the Cardinal de Retz, whom, according to his usual custom, he represents as a weak man, which is not at all the character given him by other writers.

of

of St. Martin de Pontoise, of St. Aubin d'Angers, and of Orcan: 'provided (added he) that you renounce the Archbishoprick of Paris, and provided that'——he stopped at that word, and looking upon me, he said: 'I have hitherto spoke in a manner answerable to my commission, but it is time for me to begin to laugh at the Sicilian, who is weak enough to employ me in a work of this nature: And provided (continued he) that you give twelve of your friends for sureties that you will ratify your renunciation the moment that you are set at liberty. ——This is not all (added he) I am to be one of the twelve, as are likewise Messieurs de Retz, de Brissac, de Montresor, de Caumartin, d'Hacqueville, &c. Hear me speak (said he) and do not answer me, I beg of you, till I have said all I have to say. Most of your friends are persuaded, that your only business is to hold out, and that the Court will grant you your liberty, and be satisfied with getting rid of you, and sending you to Rome. That is a mistake. The Court is for having your renunciation any way. When I say the Court, I mean Mazarin, for the Queen is grieved at heart to hear your liberty so much as mentioned. Le Tellier says, that the Cardinal must be out of his wits. The Abbot Fouquet is enraged; and Servien consents to it, only because the others are against it. We must therefore lay down as inconteſtably true, that Mazarin is the only man that is for your liberty, and that he is for it, only because he thinks himself sufficiently revenged of you, by making you lose the Archbishoprick of Paris. This is, at least, the pretence he makes use of, for at the bottom it is not what determines him. It is only the fear he is possessed with at this instant, in respect to the Nuntio, to the chapter, to the curates, to the people: I say, at this instant of the death of the Archbishop, of which the consequence can at most be an insurrection, which not being supported, must fall to nothing. But I say more, for I maintain that it will produce

'no such consequence. The Nuntio will threaten, and 'do nothing more; the chapter will make remon- 'strances that will be of no use; the curates will be- 'wail you in their pulpits, and that will be all; the 'people will make a noise, but will not take up arms. 'I am near at hand to see all these things, the event of 'which will be your being transferred either to Havre- 'de Grace, or to Brest, there to remain in the hands, 'and at the disposal of your enemies, who will after- 'wards do what they please with you. I know that 'Mazarin is not a man that loves blood, and yet I 'tremble when I consider what Mr. de Noailles has 'said to you, That they were resolved to dispatch 'matters, and to follow the steps which have so often 'been taken in other countries. Their resolving at 'Court to speak in this manner, is what makes me 'tremble. Great souls do it sometimes to serve their 'ends, but without any intent to execute what they 'say. Mean souls had rather do the thing than speak 'the words. From what I have said you will conclude, 'that I am for your resigning your post. Far from 'it. I am come hither to tell you that you will bring 'a disgrace upon yourself if you do it, and that you 'are obliged in this conjuncture, to answer at the 'expence of your life, and of your liberty, which I 'know to be dearer to you than life, the great expec- 'tation people are in upon your account. The time 'is come, when you ought more than ever to practise 'the maxims which we have so often bantered you 'upon: *I stand in fear neither of sword nor poison: 'Nothing but what is within me can move me: Death 'is to be met with every where.* These have been 'your frequent sayings, and they are now to be used 'in the answer you are to give those who shall speak to 'you about your renunciation. You have hitherto 'discharged your duty in a worthy manner, and no- 'body can reasonably find fault with your behaviour. 'I should therefore be to blame if I should undertake 'to persuade you to change your measures. It is not 'what I require of you. The thing I would ask of

'you

'you is, that you would tell me plainly whether you 'would accept of your liberty if it was offered you 'for a trifle?' Seeing me ſmile at that word: 'Stay,' (ſaid he) and I will convince you that the thing is not 'impoſſible. Do you reckon a reſignation of the 'Archbiſhoprick of Paris, dated in the caſtle of Vincennes, where you are detained priſoner, as a valid 'act?' 'No, (anſwered I) and therefore my enemies 'are not ſatisfied with that, but will have ſureties for 'the having it ratified afterwards.' 'But if I can 'find any room,' (replied the Preſident de Bellievre) 'to make the Court deſiſt from their requiring ſureties, 'what will you then think?' 'I will reſign the Archbiſhoprick to-morrow,' (anſwered I.) He then explained to me all that he had done; he told me, that he would never undertake to come to me with any propoſals, till he had clearly perceived that the real intent of the Cardinal was to ſet me at liberty, and till he had found him likewiſe diſpoſed to deſiſt from requiring any ſureties. He added, that beſides this propoſal of having ſuch ſureties as were now demanded, there were no manner of ways that he had not thought upon to make my act of reſignment a valid act. That his firſt thought had been to get a writing ſigned by the chapter, the curates, and the Sorbonne, whereby they ſhould engage to diſown me for their Archbiſhop, in caſe I ſhould refuſe to ratify my deed of reſignment, after my being ſet at liberty. That the ſecond had been, to have me brought to the Louvre, to aſſemble there all the eccleſiaſtical bodies of the city, and to make me engage my word to the King in all their preſence, that I would ſtand to my deed. 'In ſhort, '(ſaid the Preſident) there are no ways whatſoever 'but what have come into his head to ſatisfy his 'diſtruſt. You may perceive it by what I have ſaid, 'though I have not ſaid half of what I have ſeen. 'Knowing him as I do, I have not thought fit to contradict him in any thing. But he has of himſelf 'rejected theſe ridiculous fancies, except that of the 'twelve ſureties, which is indeed more practicable

'than the others. It will, however, get out of his 'head likewiſe, provided you remain firm in rejecting 'it. I ſhall be forced to inſiſt upon it with obſtinacy, 'and you muſt refuſe it with courage, as thinking it 'ſhameful for you. By this means we ſhall bring the 'Sicilian to accept of an expedient which he will be well 'pleaſed with, becauſe he will think it very proper to 'deceive you. This expedient will be to truſt you in 'the hands either of Mr. d'Hocquincourt or of Mr. 'de la Meilleraie, till the Pope hath accepted of your 'reſignation. The Cardinal will think that reſig-'nation good, if it is once accepted of by the Pope, 'and he is ſo ignorant in our laws, that he was ſaying 'ſo to me no longer ago than yeſterday.'

I interrupted the firſt Preſident, to tell him that this expedient was good for nothing, becauſe the Pope would refuſe to accept it. 'No matter, (re-'plied he) that is the worſt that can happen, and 'there is even a remedy to that. When that expe-'dient is propoſed, in accepting of it you muſt 'ſtipulate, that happen what will, you ſhall not be 'put again into the King's power, but upon my 'direction; and I ſhall take care to get a writing in 'good form, from the gentleman in whoſe hands you 'are intruſted, not to deliver you up but upon my 'order. You ought to truſt me: Follow my direc-'tions, and my heart gives me that God will perfect 'the work.'

We diſcuſſed the matter to the very bottom; we examined thoroughly which of the two we ſhould chuſe, Mr. d'Hocquincourt, or Mr. de la Meilleraie. We agreed upon every thing, and the firſt Preſident left the caſtle, telling Mr. de Pradelle with tears in his eyes: 'I find in him an invincible obſtinacy: I 'am ſorry at heart. Not that he cares now for the 'Archbiſhoprick; that would not be an obſtacle. 'But he thinks his honour wounded by the propoſals 'that are made to him of ſureties and guarantees. 'He will never yield, and I will meddle no longer in 'it: There's nothing to be done.'

Pradelle, who was much more devoted to the Abbot Fouquet than to the Cardinal, and who knew that the Abbot was in no manner for my being set at liberty, acquainted him immediately with this piece of news, upon which he was ordered by the Abbot to mention to me indirectly and without affectation, in the conversation we should have together, the Archbishoprick of Rheims, and other immense recompences, with an intent that when proposals of a lesser sort should be offered me, I should appear more stiff, in hopes that my stiffness would offend Mazarin the more. I perceived easily enough what they drove at, by comparing together what I knew to be true, because I had it from Mr. de Bellievre and my other friends, and what I heard from Pradelle, and from d'Avanton, who was my exempt. This last spoke to me ingenuously, being altogether a dependant on Mr. de Noailles his captain, who went himself roundly to work, and had nothing in view but the service of the King. But Pradelle's design being to hinder me from accepting the offers that were to be made me, by putting me in hopes of obtaining something better, continued to dazzle my eyes with bright prospects; but I resolved to oppose artifice to artifice. I told d'Avanton, That I could in no manner conceive what the meaning of the Court was: That though I was a prisoner, I did not find my prison so very burdensome, as to wish to get free from it at any rate whatsoever: That it was best to go roundly to work with every body, and with prisoners as well as with others: That I had proposals made to me at the same time, opposite to one another: That the first President offered me seven abbies, whilst Mr. de Pradelle was mentioning to me Archbishopricks. D'Avanton, who desired nothing more than to see this negotiation come to a good end, failed not to give his captain an account of my complaints. Cardinal Mazarin, who was kept in a mortal fright by the curates and the confessors of Paris, and who for that reason was impatient to the last degree to finish the thing, was extremely angry at Pradelle's conduct, and he

he uſed him very rudely upon it, ſuſpecting, as it was true, that what he did was by the Abbot Fouquet's orders. The vexation this gave him to find his own dependants oppoſing his will, contributed much, as Mr. de Bellievre told me the next day, to make him conſent to make an end of the matter by accepting my act of reſignation, dated in the caſtle of Vincennes, for which I was to have the ſeven abbeys which I have mentioned. He likewiſe conſented that I ſhould be put into the hands of Mr. de la Meilleraie, to be kept in the caſtle of Nants, of which he was governor, and to be ſet at liberty as ſoon as his Holineſs had accepted of my reſignation: But that, whether the Pope accepted of it or no, I ſhould not be put again into the King's hands, till the Preſident de Bellievre ſhould ſend a writing under his hand for his conſenting to it; and that for greater ſurety of this laſt clauſe, the King ſhould impower the Mareſchal de la Meilleraie to give a promiſe under his hand to Mr. de Bellievre, not to deliver me up till he had the Preſident's order. All this was performed, and the Monday following they came both of them to Vincennes, and accompanied me in one of the King's coaches as far as the Port-à-l'Anglois.

The Mareſchal being very lame of the gout, could not come up to my chamber, which gave an opportunity to Mr. de Bellievre to warn me, as we were coming down ſtairs, againſt entering into an engagement which would be required of me, and which was, that I ſhould not try to eſcape from the confinement which I was to be kept under at Nants. The Mareſchal propoſed it to me, and my anſwer was, That priſoners of war might give ſuch promiſes, but that I never heard that they were required from priſoners of ſtate. The Mareſchal grew angry at it, and he told me plainly, that he would take me under his care only upon that condition. Mr. de Bellievre, who had found only the opportunity of whiſpering me a word about this, becauſe of the preſence of my exempt, of Pradelle, and of my guards, began now to ſpeak.

'You

'You do not understand one another (said he) the 'Cardinal does not refuse to give his word of honour, 'if you will confide in it entirely, and give him no 'guards. But if you keep him under guard, Sir, 'what will such a promise signify? Does not the 'keeping him under restraint free him from it?' The President played a sure game, being well assured that the Queen had made the Mareschal promise that I should always have some guards to watch me. The Mareschal looked upon Mr. de Bellievre, and said: 'You know that I cannot act in the manner you pro- 'pose; come, Sir, said he, turning to me, there is no 'avoiding the giving you guards, but I shall guard 'you in a manner that shall give you no manner of 'room to complain.' We left Vincennes, and we marched away, accompanied by the Gens d'Armes, the light-horse, and the mousquetaires of the King's household. Cardinal Mazarin's guards, who in my opinion ought not to have appeared there, were likewise of the company, and made even a mighty figure.

We parted with the first President at the Port-à-l'Anglois, and we continued our march as far as Baugency, where we embarked, after my guards had been relieved by new ones. The horse returned to Paris; and Pradelle, who had Morel for his ensign, that belongs now, I think, to the Dutchess of Orleans, came in the same boat with me; and in another boat that followed ours, there was a company of the regiment of guards. The next day after my arrival at Nants, all my guards left me, and I was left entirely to the keeping of the Mareschal de la Meilleraie, who was as good as his word, for nothing could exceed his civil usage. Every body had the liberty of seeing me, all means possible were sought to divert me, and I had a play acted before me almost every evening. All the ladies of the town were present at it, and often supped in the castle. Madam de la Vergne, who was married a second time to the Chevalier de Sevigné, and lived in Anjou with him, came to see me, and brought her daughter with her,

who is now Madam de la Fayette. She was very agreeable and very lovely, and she had besides much of the air of Madam de Lesdiguieres. I had a great liking to her, but the truth is she had but little to me, either because her inclination did not lead her that way, or because of the distrust that both her mother and father-in-law had filled her with betimes, and carefully, in respect to me and to the inconstancy of my amours. Her cruelty caused me no great trouble, it being natural for me in such cases to be pretty easily comforted, and the freedom which Mr. de la Meilleraie suffered me to live in, with the ladies of the town, was besides a great help to comfort me. It is true, that the exactness with which he guarded me, was equal to the civility he used towards me. I was never left without some body that watched me narrowly, except when I was retired into my chamber, and then there were always six men that guarded the door. There was in the chamber only a very high window, that looked down into a yard, in which there was always a numerous guard; and one of the six men that guarded the door, and who always accompanied me when I went to walk in a little garden, which is upon a kind of bastion or ravelin, built just by the river-side, posted himself upon the terras of a tower, from whence he watched all my steps. The Duke de Brissac, whom I met at the Mareschal de la Meilleraie's when I arrived there, and Messieurs de Caumartin, d'Hacqueville, the Abbot de Pont Carré, and Amelot, who came thither soon after, were more surprized at the strictness of my guard, than pleased at the civilities shewn me, though never so great. I own that I was myself very much troubled at it, chiefly when I heard by an express sent me by the Abbot Charrier, that the Pope would not give his approbation to what I had done, which approbation had not made my act of resignation one jot more valid, and yet would have procured me my liberty. I dispatched immediately to Rome, Malclerc, who has the honour to be known to you, with a letter for the Pope, wherein I gave his Holiness an account

of

of what my true intereſt required. I gave to Malclerc beſides a large inſtruction of all the expedients whereby the dignity of the Holy See might be reconciled with the accepting of my reſignation. But nothing could perſuade his Holineſs, and he remained inflexible. He thought that his reputation would lie too much at ſtake, if he ſhould conſent for a ſingle inſtant to a violence ſo injurious to the whole church; and the Pope ſpoke in this manner to the Abbot Charrier and to Malclerc, who were preſſing him with tears in their eyes: 'I know that my approbation would not vali-'date a reſignation which has been extorted by vio-'lence; but I likewiſe know that it would diſhonour 'me, when people ſhould ſay that I have given my 'conſent to a reſignation dated in a priſon.'

You will eaſily believe that this diſpoſition of the Pope's brought many ſerious reflections into my head, which worked afterwards the more upon me by the diſpoſition of the Mareſchal de la Meilleraie, who was of all men the moſt cringing to the Court. His being brought up at the Court of Cardinal Richlieu had made ſo ſtrong impreſſions upon his mind, that though he had a great deal of averſion for Cardinal Mazarin, he trembled at the hearing of his name mentioned. His fear redoubled at the firſt news that came from Rome. He appeared to be moved at it even beyond what decency allowed him. After the Cardinal had ſent him word that he knew for certain that the difficulty which the Pope made came from me, he could not contain himſelf any longer, but he reproached me with it, and inſtead of giving an ear to my reaſons, which were grounded merely upon truth, he affected to believe that I diſguiſed my true intention from him. I made then no doubt but that he would ſeek out for pretences to ſurrender me to the Court, when it ſhould be convenient for him to do it. This conduct is common to all thoſe who act with more cunning than prudence, but it does not ſucceed with thoſe whoſe impetuoſity is greater than their probity. I made the Mareſchal diſcover his intentions by

putting him inſenſibly into a heat, and he betrayed himſelf very imprudently in the preſence of all thoſe that were with us in the court belonging to the caſtle. He read me a letter, which informed him that they had received advice at Court of my promiſing the Duke of Orleans, who was at Blois, to bring the Mareſchal de la Meilleraie over to his intereſt, and that I did not even deſpair that he would give him a retreat in Fort Louis. I told the Mareſchal that he muſt expect to be often troubled in this manner, and that the Court, which had no other view by removing me than to appeaſe the people at Paris, thought now upon nothing elſe than to get me out of his hands by their artifices there. At this he turned towards me like a man poſſeſſed, and he ſaid to me in a loud voice and all in a heat, 'In ſhort, Sir, I would have 'you to know that I ſhall never make war againſt the 'King upon your account, I will be true to my pro-'miſe, but the firſt Preſident muſt likewiſe do what 'he has promiſed the King.'

This put me ſeriouſly upon finding out the means to make my eſcape. I was preſſed about it by the firſt Preſident, upon whom the Court had already made a kind of trial, and Montreſor got a lady of Nantes to put a little note into my hands, in which I found theſe words written: 'You are to be removed to Breſt at 'the end of this month, if you don't prevent it by 'making your eſcape.' The thing was very difficult, and the firſt ſtep towards it was to amuſe the Mareſchal. Joly ſhewed him the decyphering of letters, which appeared very genuine; and I obſerved on this occaſion, that perſons the moſt diſtruſtful are often the moſt eaſily deceived. I diſcovered my deſign to Mr. de Briſſac, who came to Nantes from time to time, and who promiſed to ſerve me. He went always with a very great equipage, and had many mules to carry his trunks. This brought a thought into my head, that it would not be impoſſible for me to be conveyed away in one of theſe trunks. There was one made for that purpoſe, a little bigger than ordinary,

ordinary, and with a hole to let in some air. I tried it, and I found that way of escaping natural and practicable. Mr. de Briſſac went for two or three days to Machecoul, from whence he returned altogether altered. He diſcovered the thing to the Dutcheſs of Retz, my ſiſter-in-law, and to her father, who diſſuaded him from it; the firſt becauſe ſhe hated me, and the ſecond becauſe of his ill-nature. Mr. de Briſſac ſaid for his excuſe, that he was ſure that I ſhould be ſtifled in the trunk; but the truth is, that he was touched with a ſcruple, which they had put into his head, that by doing a thing of this nature he would violate in too open a manner the laws of hoſpitality. I repreſented to him as much as I could, that in ſuffering me to be transferred to Breſt, he would violate in no leſs a manner the laws of friendſhip. He owned it, and he promiſed to help me to eſcape any other way than this. I entered into meaſures with him upon a project, which I had thought of, as ſoon as the firſt had failed.

I have already told you, that I went and walked ſometimes upon a kind of ravelin by the river-ſide, and I had obſerved that (being in the month of Auguſt) the river did not come up to the wall, but left a little ſpace of dry ground between it and the baſtion. I had likewiſe obſerved, that between the garden which was upon the baſtion and the terraſs on which my guards ſtaid whilſt I was walking, there was a door, which Chaluçet had cauſed to be ſet up to prevent the ſoldiers coming into the garden. Upon theſe obſervations I formed my deſign, which was to draw unaffectedly that door upon me as I came into the garden, which being made with croſs-bars, was no obſtacle to the guards from looking on me, but would ſerve however to prevent their coming to me. I deſigned afterwards to get down the wall by means of a cord, which my phyſician and the Abbot Rouſſeau, brother to the ſteward of my family, were to hold faſt at the top; to have horſes ready by the river-ſide, both for myſelf and for four gentlemen whom I

deſigned to take along with me. This project was extremely difficult to execute. It was of an extraordinary kind, and all that are ſuch are never thought poſſible by thoſe that are capable of forming only ordinary ones, but when they ſee them executed. I have made that obſervation above a hundred times; and if I am not miſtaken, Longinus, that famous Chancellor to Queen Zenobia, has obſerved it before me, in his treatiſe on the Sublime. In ſhort, there had been nothing more remarkable in our age than the ſucceſs of an eſcape like mine, if, in breaking my fetters, it had ended in rendering myſelf maſter of the capital city of the kingdom. Mr. de Caumartin * brought that thought into my head, and I embraced it very eagerly. The firſt preſident de Bellievre approved of it; and as ſoon as the Chancellor and Servien, who were at Paris, heard that I was marching that way, they had no other thought than of quitting me the place, and of running out of it. It was the firſt word that Servien, who was not a timorous man, ſaid, when he received an account of it from the Mareſchal de la Meilleraie. Add to that the Te Deum that was ſung for my liberty in the church of Nôtre-Dame, and the bonfires that were made in many places of the city, though they did not ſee me there, and judge of the effect which I had room to hope that my preſence would have produced there. I take this to be a ſufficient anſwer to thoſe who have blamed my enterprize. I deſire that theſe gentlemen would examine ſeriouſly, and conſider within themſelves, whether they would have thought that the declaration which I made in full parliament againſt Cardinal Mazarin, the next day after the battle of Rhetel, would have ſucceeded as it did, if it had been propoſed to them a quarter of an hour before they ſaw the ſucceſs of it. I am perſuaded that almoſt all the great things that have been undertaken

* Joly ſays, that it was he that firſt propoſed it to the Cardinal de Retz.

are

are of this nature. I am perſuaded beſides, that it is often neceſſary to venture upon ſuch undertakings; and I continue to be ſtill perſuaded, that it was prudent in the occaſion I am ſpeaking of, becauſe the worſt that could have happened was my embarking in an action of great moment, which I had puſhed on if I had found room, and to which I had given an air of moderation and of diſcretion, if I had found matters not ſo well prepared as I imagined. For my project was to enter into Paris with the appearance only of peaceable intentions; to declare both at the parliament and at the town-houſe, that I came with the deſign only of taking poſſeſſion of my archbiſhopric; to take in effect that poſſeſſion in my cathedral; to examine what effect ſuch a ſpectacle would have produced upon the minds of a people already inflamed by the ſtate in which things were, Arras being beſieged at that time by the Prince of Condé. My preſence at Paris would probably have prevented the King from attacking the lines as he did. The partiſans of the Prince, who were numerous in the city, would certainly have joined with my friends. The flight of the Chancellor and of Servien had diſcouraged the Mazarinians; the colluſion of the firſt Preſident de Bellievre had been a ſignal advantage to me. Mr. Nicolaï, firſt preſident of the chamber of accounts, has declared ſince, that the Court having obſerved againſt me not any one of the forms of law required, that chamber had not heſitated one ſingle moment to do in favour of my poſſeſſion whatever lay in their power. I ſhould have known by theſe firſt ſteps how far I ought or might have carried the ſecond. If I had met, as I have obſerved, with more obſtacles in my way than I had fancied, it would have been eaſy for me to have taken a ſtep backwards, to have acted only the eccleſiaſtical part, and after having taken poſſeſſion of the archbiſhopric, to have retired into Mezieres, where two hundred horſe would eaſily have convoyed me, all the King's troops being far off. The Viſcount de Lamet was in that place, and Noirmoutier himſelf,

himſelf, though reconciled ſecretly to the Court, as you have ſeen, had been obliged to preſerve a greater regard for me, to prevent his loſing entirely his reputation with the public; and even in reſpect to his private intereſt, Charleville and the Mont-Olimpe being inſignificant without Mezieres. That gentleman was beſides reconciled to me in ſome meaſure, ſince I was come away from Vincennes; for thinking that I ſhould be quickly ſet at liberty, he had taken hold of theſe inſtants to make his peace with me, having ſent to that effect Blanchecour, a captain of foot of the garriſon of Mezieres. Blanchecour brought me a letter, ſigned by Noirmoutier and by the Viſcount de Lamet jointly, who both expreſſed that they had been all along in my intereſt, and would continue in the ſame mind as long as they lived. The Viſcount wrote me word by a ſeparate letter, that the Duke de Noirmoutier affected a greater zeal for me than ever, in order to gild over his paſt actions with the ſhew he made now, which, as matters ſtood, could no longer, at leaſt as he thought, be of any prejudice to him at Court. My retiring into Mezieres would, it is true, have produced no great matters, becauſe of my miſtruſting Noirmoutier, and becauſe, as I have ſaid, that place is inſignificant without Charleville and the Mont-Olimpe. It would however have ſerved as a place for me to retire into, which at that juncture of time was what I needed moſt.

The whole project was overthrown in an inſtant, though none of the foundations failed on which it was built. I made my eſcape upon Saturday the 8th of Auguſt, at five in the afternoon. The door of the garden, which I have mentioned, ſeemed as if it had ſhut naturally of itſelf. I got down the baſtion, which was forty feet high, by means of the cord. A valet-de-chambre, who belongs ſtill to me, amuſed my guards with ſome bottles of wine. They were beſides amuſing themſelves in looking at a Dominican fryar, who was got into the river to bathe, and who was very near drowning. The centinel, who

was

was not above twenty ſteps from me, durſt not fire, becauſe, when I ſaw him preparing to do it, I cried to him that I would have him hanged if he budged; and he ſaid, when he was put to the rack, that hearing me threaten him in that manner, he thought that the Mareſchal favoured my eſcape. Two little pages, who were bathing, ſeeing me coming down the baſtion-wall, would have diſcovered my eſcape, if they had been hearkened to; but every body that heard their cry, fancied that they were calling for help to the monk that wanted it. I met, at my coming down, my four gentlemen, who waited there as if they had been watering their horſes. I got on horſe-back before there was the leaſt alarm given, and having forty freſh horſes waiting for me upon the road between Nantes and Paris, I ſhould infallibly have reached this laſt place on the Tueſday morning betimes, had it not been for an accident, which has proved fatal to the remaining part of my life. I will give you an account of it, after I have taken notice to you of a remarkable circumſtance.

I had a cypher with the Princeſs Palatine, which we uſed to call the undecypherable, becauſe we had always found it impenetrable, except to thoſe who knew the word agreed on. It was with that cypher that I wrote to the firſt preſident that I was to make my eſcape upon the 8th of Auguſt, and he made uſe of the ſame to bid me do it whatever riſk I ſhould run. I gave, with the ſame cypher, the neceſſary orders about my relais. By the ſame means I agreed with Annery and Laillevaux on the place where the gentlemen out of the Vexin ſhould meet to come into Paris with me. The Prince of Condé, who had with him one of the beſt decypherers in the world, whoſe name I think was Martin, kept that cypher ſix weeks at Bruſſels; and when he gave it me back, he told me that that man owned, that it was impoſſible to decypher it. Theſe are great proofs of the goodneſs of the cypher; and yet Joly, who made it not his buſineſs to decypher letters, found out the key, after having

ing thought a while upon it. I beg that you would forgive me this digreſſion, which you will find not to be unneceſſary. I return to my narration.

As * ſoon as I was got on horſe-back, I took my way towards Mauve, which, if I miſtake not, is five leagues diſtant from Nantes, by the river ſide, and where we had agreed that Mr. de Briſſac and the Chevalier de Sevigné ſhould ſtay for me, with a boat to croſs the river. La Ralde, gentleman of the horſe to the Duke de Briſſac, who rode before me, told me that we ought to gallop at firſt, for fear the Mareſchal's guards ſhould have time to ſhut up the gate of a little ſtreet of the ſuburb where they were quartered, and through which we muſt neceſſarily paſs. I was mounted upon one of the beſt horſes in the world, and which had coſt Mr. de Briſſac a thouſand crowns. I did not however give him the bridle, becauſe the pavement was extremely bad and very ſlippery; but one of my gentlemen, whoſe name was Bois-guerin, perceiving two of the Mareſchal's guards, who had not however any deſign upon us, and bidding us cock our piſtols, I did ſo, and I preſented mine to the guard who was neareſt to me, to prevent his ſeizing my horſe's bridle. The ſun, that was yet pretty high, ſhining upon the plate, the reverberation frighted my horſe, that was ſtrong and lively. He ſtarted at it, and of a ſudden fell upon his four feet. I eſcaped with the breaking of my left ſhoulder by the fall, and the putting of it beſides out of joint, againſt a great ſtone that lay before a door. Another of my gentlemen, named Beau-Cheſne, took me up and got me upon my horſe, and though I ſuffered an intolerable pain, and that I was now and then obliged to pull my hair to prevent my fainting away, I rode out the five leagues, before the Mareſchal de la Meil-

* In Joli's whole account of this matter, he repreſents the Cardinal de Retz in the worſt light imaginable, and as a man ſo much poſſeſſed with fear, that he knew neither what he ſaid or did.

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leraie, who (if Marigni's ballad is to be believed) was following me with full ſpeed, with all the runners of Nantes, could reach me. I found, at the place of rendezvous, Mr. de Briſſac and the Chevalier de Sevigné, with a boat ready. I fainted away at the getting into it, but I came to myſelf by their throwing water on my face. I tried to get upon my horſe after we had paſſed the river, but I was too weak to ſit on horſe-back, and Mr. de Briſſac was forced to have me put into a hay-mow, where he left me with one of my gentlemen, who held me in his arms. The Duke de Briſſac took Joly with him, and they went directly to Beau-Preau, with a deſign of gathering together the gentlemen of the country, and of coming afterwards to fetch me away.

I think myſelf obliged to relate two or three actions of ſome perſons that belonged to me, which deſerve not to be forgotten. Paris, a doctor in the univerſity of the college of Navarre, who had given the ſignal with his hat to the four gentlemen that aſſiſted me in this conjuncture, was found by the water-ſide by Coulon, gentleman of the horſe to the Mareſchal, who took hold of him and gave him ſome blows. The Doctor preſerving his wits, ſaid to Coulon, with a ſimple air, and like a Norman, 'I will tell the Mareſchal that 'you ſpend your time in the abuſing a poor prieſt, 'becauſe you dare not attack the Cardinal, who is 'armed with good piſtols.' Coulon took this for genuine, and aſked him where I was. 'Don't you 'ſee him,' anſwered the Doctor, 'entering into that 'village?' You muſt obſerve that he had ſeen me croſs the river, and this preſence of mind, which you will own to have been pretty extraordinary, got him away out of Coulon's hands. I will mention now an act of courage no leſs extraordinary. The gentleman whom the Doctor was ſhewing Coulon, as if it had been myſelf, was that Beau-Cheſne whom I have mentioned. His horſe was quite ſpent, which prevented his joining me. Coulon, who took him for me, ran to him, and perceiving many perſons ready

to

to join him, he came up towards Beau-Chesne with a pistol in his hand. Beau-Chesne, who was expecting him in the like posture, looking about him, perceived a boat that was not above ten or twelve steps distance from him. He flung himself into it, and whilst he was stopping Coulon by presenting him one of his pistols, he was holding the other at the waterman, and obliged him to pass the river. The stoutness he shewed on this occasion did not only preserve him, but favoured my escape; because the Mareschal, having missed that boat, was forced to ride a long way before he could cross the water.

An action of another nature, but which contributed still more to my liberty, was this: I have already told you, that as soon as the Abbot Charrier had sent me word that the Pope refused to receive my resignation, I dispatched Malclerc to sollicit his Holiness about it. The Court sent Gaumont at the same time; who was carrying the original act of my resignation to the Cardinal d'Est, with an order for him to sollicit that affair, because there was at that time no ambassador from France at Rome. Gaumont, at his arrival at Lions with Malclerc, finding himself tired, resolved to go to Marseilles and embark there for Italy. That being the longest way, and Malclerc, who went through the mountains, being like to be the soonest at Rome, Gaumont thought fit to intrust him with the pacquet he had for the Cardinal d'Est. His simplicity was great, as you may observe, and it is like that he had never studied a maxim which I have always practised, and always preached to all those who belonged to me; which is, never to mind, in affairs of importance, either fatigue, danger, or expence. Gaumont was punished for not following that maxim on this occasion. The original act of my resignation was not to be found in the pacquet, though none of the seals seemed to have been broken. When Gaumont complained of it, Malclerc, who was a braver man than he, complained on his side, that what was alledged was a contrivance. This disappointment gave

gave room to the Pope to leave the Cardinal d'Eſt in doubt, whether their doing nothing at Rome about that affair proceeded from want of good-will in his Holineſs, or from want of the original act of my reſignation. Malclerc was ordered to entreat the Pope, in my name, that in caſe he would not admit of that reſignation, he would ſpin out the matter till I had found means to eſcape; and what Malclerc had done, in relation to Gaumont, afforded, as you ſee, a pretence plauſible enough. The Cardinal d'Eſt being himſelf amuſed, amuſed likewiſe Mazarin; whoſe inſtances to the Mareſchal de la Meilleraie, about his delivering me back into the King's hands, grew thereby leſs frequent and leſs preſſing; and I had the ſatisfaction to owe to the zeal and to the prudence of two perſons who belonged to me (for the Abbot Charrier had his ſhare in this intrigue) the full time I wanted to provide for my eſcape.

I return to the place where I was hid. I remained for above ſeven hours in ſuch an anguiſh that I am not able to expreſs it. I had my left ſhoulder both broken and put out of joint, and extremely bruiſed beſides. I was ſeized with a fever about nine in the evening, and the thirſt it occaſioned was ſtill cruelly increaſed by the heat of the new hay. Though I was by the river-ſide, I durſt not drink; becauſe if Montet (that's the perſon's name that was with me) and I had come out of the hay-mow, we had no body to put it again in order at our coming back into it, which might conſequently have afforded room to thoſe that ran after me to have ſearched it. We were continually hearing people on horſeback, that were riding on the right and on the left, among whom we knew by his voice Coulon to be one. The uneaſineſs occaſioned by thirſt is incredible, and inconceivable to thoſe who have never experienced it. Mr. de la Poiſe St. Offanges, a man of quality of thoſe parts, whom Mr. de Briſſac had acquainted with my misfortune, came about two in the morning to fetch me away, after having obſerved that the coaſt was perfectly clear.

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He cauſed me to be put upon a hand-barrow, which they uſed to remove dung with, and two country-men carried me into the barn of a houſe belonging to him, that ſtood a league off. I was likewiſe covered up with hay there, but not wanting drink, that made me eaſier.

The Duke de Briſſac came with his Dutcheſs ſeven or eight hours after, having with them about twenty horſes, and they carried me to Beau-Preau, where I found the Abbot de Belebat, who was come to viſit them. I ſtaid there but one night, till all the gentlemen of the country were aſſembled. Mr. de Briſſac was very much beloved there, and in a little time he got together above two hundred gentlemen. Mr. de Retz, who was ſtill more beloved in his parts, joined him four leagues from thence with three hundred more. We paſſed almoſt within ſight of Nantes, from whence ſome of the Mareſchal de la Meilleraie's guards came out to ſkirmiſh. They were vigorouſly repulſed to the field-gate of the town, and we arrived ſafely at Machecoul, which is in the country of Retz. But this piece of good luck happened not without being allayed with domeſtic troubles. Madam de Briſſac, who had all this while acted the part of an heroine, preſenting me at parting with a bottle of imperial water, ſaid to me, 'Nothing but your miſ-'fortune hath hindered me from mixing poiſon with 'it.' She made me anſwerable for the piece of treachery done me by Mr. de Noirmoutier upon her account, which I have ſpoken of before *. It is impoſſible for you to conceive how much I was touched at hearing theſe words; and I felt beyond what I am able to expreſs, that an honeſt heart carries its ſenſibility to the greateſt exceſs of weakneſs, at the complaints of a perſon to whom he thinks himſelf obliged. I was not near ſo ſenſible at the hardneſs of the

* In the ſecond volume; but in a manner ſo imperfect, that the paragraph relating to it was not tranſlated, as it is there taken notice of.

Dutcheſs

Dutchefs of Retz, my fifter-in-law, and that of her father. They could not hide from me their want of good-will, as foon as I came. The Dutchefs complained that I had not intrufted her with my efcape, though fhe had left Nantes but the day before I made it. The father exclaimed pretty openly at my obftinacy, for refufing to fubmit to the King's pleafure, and he did whatever he could with Mr. de Briffac, to oblige him to perfuade me to fend to the Court the ratification of my refignation. The truth is, that both the father and the daughter were extremely afraid of the Marefchal de la Meilleraie, who being enraged at my efcape, but more ftill at his being abandoned by all the gentlemen of the province, was threatening to deftroy all the country of Retz with fire and fword. Their fright was fuch, that they fancied to themfelves, or were at leaft willing that other people fhould fancy, that my complaints about my fhoulder were an effect only of my tendernefs; that there was nothing broke or out of joint; and that the whole amounted only to a contufion. The old Duke's furgeon, who fided with them, faid the like to every body; adding, that it was very hard that for the fake of my tendernefs I fhould expofe the whole family, which was upon the point of being inveſted at Machecoul. I was in my bed all this while, where I felt incredible pains, and where I was not able fo much as to turn. But hearing thefe people fpeak in this manner, I grew fo impatient, that I refolved to leave them, and to throw myfelf into Belle-Ifle, from whence I might at leaft get away by fea. The paffage to it was very hazardous, becaufe the Marefchal de la Meilleraie had caufed all the coaft to be guarded with men in arms. I ventured upon it however. I embarked at the port de la Roche, which lies about half a league from Machecoul, in a floop, of which la Giſclaie, a captain of a man of war, and a good feaman, would be the pilot. The weather obliged us to caft anchor at Croify, where we were in danger of being difcovered by a floop, which came to us in the night. La Giſclaie,

claie, who ſpoke the country language, and knew all theſe parts, came off very well. We ſailed away the next morning at break of day, and we diſcovered ſome time after a long bark of Biſcay, which gave us the chaſe. We run from it out of regard to Mr. de Briſſac, who would not have liked to have been carried into Spain, becauſe he was not, like me, eſcaping out of priſon, and that ſuch a voyage might have been looked upon as criminal in him. The long bark coming full ſail upon us, and being even near getting the wind of us, we thought that it would be beſt for us to land in the iſland of Retz. The bark ſeemed as if it would have followed us thither, and we ſaw it coaſt along for a pretty while, till at laſt we ſaw it bear off. We got again on board of our ſloop at night, and we arrived at Belle-Iſle at break of day.

I ſuffered, during this paſſage, all the pain that a man is able to bear, and I had need of all the ſtrength of my conſtitution to preſerve the contuſion I had on my ſhoulder, being ſo great as it was, from the gangrene, having applied to it all this while no other remedy than ſalt and vinegar. I met not at Belle-Iſle with the ſame diſguſt as at Machecoul, but at the bottom I met not there with a much greater firmneſs. They fancied, in the country of Retz, that the commander de Neuf Chaiſe, who was at Rochel, would receive inceſſantly an order for inveſting me in Belle-Iſle, and they likewiſe heard there, that the Mareſchal de la Meilleraie was preparing at Nantes two long barks for that purpoſe. Theſe advices were in the main right and true, but the execution of them was not by much ſo near at hand as they thought, and it required a longer time than had been needed for the curing of my ſhoulder. But the fright they were in at Machecoul had an influence upon thoſe of Belle-Iſle, and I perceived it by their being inclined to think there, that my ſhoulder was not really out of joint, and that the pain which the contuſion cauſed me made me fancy that my ail was greater than it really

really was. It is impoſſible to imagine the trouble which theſe ſorts of murmurings cauſe when they are unjuſt. The Chevalier de Sevigné, a man of courage, but ſelf-intereſted, was afraid of having his houſe pulled down; and Mr. de Briſſac, who thought that he had made ſufficient amends for the lazineſs, rather than weakneſs, which he had ſhewn during my impriſonment, was glad to put an end to the thing, and not expoſe his quiet about it for ever. I was not leſs impatient than they were, to ſee them diſintangled out of a trouble in which they had engaged only for my ſake. The difference was, that I thought not the danger ſo great, either for them or for me, as to be deprived of the neceſſary time which I fancied might have been allowed me for curing my ſhoulder, and about providing myſelf with a ſhip which I might be ſafe upon. They would have perſuaded me to have put myſelf on board of an Hamburgh ſhip, which lay in the road, ready to ſail for Holland, which I thought not fit to do, the maſter, who was a ſtranger, knowing who I was, and having it in his power to carry me to Nantes, as well as Holland. I propoſed to them to ſend for the long bark of Biſcay, which I have mentioned, and which had caſt anchor in ſight of Belle-Iſle; but they were afraid that to have ſuch an intelligence with the Spaniards would be imputed to them as a crime. I embarked at laſt in a fiſher-man's bark, in which there were only five mariners of Belle-Iſle, and I had with me only Joly, two of my gentlemen, and a valet-de-chambre, whom my brother had lent me. The bark was loaded with pilcherds, which was a good for us, becauſe we were very bare of money. My brother had ſent me ſome, but the man that carried it had been arreſted by thoſe that guarded the coaſt. His wife's father had not been ſo civil as to offer me any. Mr. de Briſſac lent me eighty piſtoles, and the officer who commanded in Belle-Iſle forty. We left our cloaths, and took ſome tattered ones, which the ſoldiers of the garriſon furniſhed us with, and we put to ſea

ſea in the beginning of the night, with a deſign to ſail to St. Sebaſtian, which is in the Guipuſcoa. The diſtance to that place was great enough for ſuch a bark as ours was, it being eighty long leagues; but it was the neareſt of all thoſe where I could land with ſafety. The weather was very ſtormy all night long, but it grew calm at break of day, which was no great matter of comfort to us, becauſe we loſt the only mariner's compaſs we had. It fell into the ſea by I don't know what accident. Our mariners found themſelves at a great loſs, and being very ignorant men, they knew not whereabouts they were. They followed no other courſe than that which a ſhip that gave them chace forced them to take. They diſcovered, by its garb, that it was a Sallee rover. Perceiving, in the evening, that they were ſtriking ſail, we judged by it that they were afraid of the land, and conſequently that we could not be far from it. Little birds that came to perch upon our maſt made it beſides plain enough. The queſtion was what land it might be, for we were as much afraid of that of France as of that of the Turks. This made us keep off from ſhore all that night and all the next day, and a ſhip which we ſpied, and would have come near to inform ourſelves, fired thrice at us, which was the only anſwer we received. We had but little water on board, and we were afraid of being ſurprized by foul weather, there being already ſome appearance of it. The night however was calm enough, and at break of day we perceived a ſloop at ſea. We came near it with much ado, thoſe upon the ſloop fearing that we might be rovers. We ſpoke Spaniſh and French to three men whom we ſaw on board, but they underſtood neither of theſe languages. One of them cried aloud San Sebaſtian, to let us know that they belonged to that place. We ſhewed him money, and anſwered San Sebaſtian, to give them to underſtand that we would land there. He came on board of us and conducted us thither, which was eaſy for him to do, becauſe we were near it.

We

We were no ſooner landed than thoſe of San Sebaſtian aſked us for our charter party, which is a thing ſo neceſſary at ſea, that it is a hanging matter for any maſter of a ſhip to be found without one. The maſter of our bark had not conſidered of this, thinking that I ſhould have no need of it. The want of ſuch a paper, and our ragged cloaths, obliged the guards of the port to tell us that we were like to be hanged the next morning. Our anſwer was, that we were known to the Baron de Vatteville, who commanded for the King of Spain in the Guipuſcoa. This anſwer made them bring us to an inn, and Joly went with one of their men to the Baron de Vatteville, who was at Port-Paſſage, and who judged at firſt by his cloaths that he was an impoſtor. He kept however that thought to himſelf, and the next day he came to viſit me at my inn. He made me a very long compliment, but dark and entangled, and ſuitable to a man who was uſed, in the poſt he was in, to meet often with impoſtors. The arrival of Beau-Cheſne began to give him a better opinion of me. I had ſent Beau-Cheſne from Beau-preau to Paris, and my friends had diſpatched him immediately back to me to St. Sebaſtian, as ſoon as they heard that I was to ſteer my courſe to that place. The Baron found him ſo well informed of the news, that he had room to believe that he was no falſe expreſs. His news indeed was not very pleaſing to the Baron, for he learnt from him that the French had beat the Spaniards out of their lines at Arras, and the advice which Mr. de Vatteville ſent immediately of it to Madrid, was the firſt they had there of that defeat. Beau-Cheſne came to St. Sebaſtian with an incredible diligence upon a ſhip of Biſcay, which he found in the road of Belle-Iſle, the maſter of the ſhip being extremely glad to find an opportunity of bringing that gentleman to me. My friends ſent him to perſuade me to take my way towards Rome, rather than towards Mezieres, into which place they were afraid I ſhould throw myſelf. Their advice was certainly the wiſeſt, though it did

not prove the most successful. I followed it without any hesitation, but not without pain. I knew enough of the court of Rome to be persuaded that the post of a refugee and a suppliant is not pleasing there; and being as much incensed as I was against Mazarin, I felt motions within me which inclined me to go rather to some place where I might have a larger field to express my resentment. Not that I was ignorant that I ought not to have expected from the Duke de Noirmoutier every thing which might perhaps have been convenient for me for the time to come, but I was not ignorant neither, that being master in Mezieres, as I would have been if I had gone thither, it is probable that I might have engaged Mr. de Noirmoutier further than he himself intended; that gentleman, after all, shewing, outwardly at least, a regard for me, and having, as soon as he heard of my escape, even dispatched me a gentleman, who came with Lamet's express, to offer me a retreat in both their places. My friends did not doubt of my finding a sure retreat at Mezieres, but they were in fear as to Charleville; and the situation of these two places being such, that one of them is not very considerable without the other, they thought, that considering the disposition of Mr. de Noirmoutier, I should do better not to chuse these places for my retreat. I repeat once more here what I have already said of the probability of succeeding better there than my friends believed, not that I ground this probability upon the good intentions of Noirmoutier, but upon the effect which my presence might have produced upon him. The advice of my friends prevailed over my own views. They represented to me, that the natural sanctuary for a Cardinal and for a Bishop, that was persecuted, was the Vatican. But there are conjunctures, in which it is not difficult to foresee, that such a sanctuary may prove an exile. I foresaw it, and I chose it; that choice being grounded on the deference I had for the advice of those I had obligations to, and I have never repented of it, though the success answered not their expectation.

expectation. I ſhould value myſelf more upon it if it had proceeded from my own moderation, and from my deſire of applying myſelf to my re-eſtabliſhment by eccleſiaſtical means.

It was not the Spaniards fault that I followed not other meaſures. As ſoon as Mr. de Vatteville was convinced that I was the Cardinal de Retz, which the circumſtances I have mentioned were a help to, and in which he was confirmed by a gentleman of Bourdeaux, who was his ſecretary, and who had ſeen me at Paris ſeveral times; he took me to his houſe, where he kept me hid in a manner, that though the Mareſchal de Grammont, who was not above three leagues diſtance from San Sebaſtian, had ſent notice to the Court by an expreſs of my arrival at that place, he thought the next day that he was under ſuch a miſtake, as to oblige him to diſpatch another expreſs to unſay what he had written. I kept my bed for three weeks without being able to ſtir, and Mr. de Vatteville's ſurgeon, who was a very able man, would not undertake my cure, becauſe it was too late. I had my ſhoulder abſolutely out of joint, and he condemned me to remain lame ſo long as I lived. I ſent Bois-Guerin to the King of Spain with a letter, wherein I intreated him to give me leave to paſs through his dominions to go to Rome. That gentleman was received both by his Catholic Majeſty, and by Don Lewis de Haro, with a civility beyond what I am able to expreſs. He was ſent back the very next day, with a preſent of a chain of gold worth 800 crowns. I had one of the King's litters ſent me, and Don Chriſtoval de Chaſſembac, a German, but devoted to Spain, a ſecretary for foreign affairs, and a great confident of Don Lewis, was diſpatched to me. He uſed all manner of ways to oblige me to go to Madrid. I excuſed myſelf from it, becauſe ſuch a journey would be of no ſervice to his Catholic Majeſty, and might give a great advantage over me to my enemies. Theſe reaſons, though very good, as I believe you will own, were not reckoned

ſuch, which as I was wondering at, Vatteville, who in the preſence of the ſecretary had been of the ſame mind openly with him, and even vehemently, ſaid to me: 'This journey would coſt the King 50,000 crowns, 'and would perhaps coſt you the Archbiſhoprick 'of Paris, and yet it would be of no uſe at all. I 'muſt however ſpeak as the other does, or they 'would reſent it at Court. We act upon the foot 'of Philip the ſecond, whoſe maxim was always to 'engage ſtrangers by public demonſtrations. You 'ſee in what manner we apply it, and you may 'judge of the reſt by this.' Theſe words are ſignificant, and I have myſelf found them ſince more than once to be true, when I have examined the conduct of the council of Spain. It has appeared to me on ſeveral occaſions, that they fall there into as great errors by keeping too obſtinately attached to their general maxims, as they do in France by the contempt they ſhew there for any manner of maxims or rules.

When Don Chriſtoval ſaw that he could not perſuade me to go to Madrid, he tried by all manner of ways to oblige me to embark upon a frigate of Dunkirk, which was at St. Sebaſtian, and he made me immenſe offers, in caſe I would go into Flanders to treat with the Prince of Condé, and declare myſelf together with Mezieres, Charleville and the Mont-Olimpe, for the Spaniards. He was in the right to propoſe to me theſe meaſures, which would certainly have proved ſerviceable to the King his maſter. You have ſeen what reaſons I had to refuſe the propoſal. What was very gallant and very civil in him, is, that notwithſtanding my not accepting any of his offers, he cauſed however a little trunk covered with velvet to be brought, in which there were 40,000 crowns in double doubloons. I thought not fit to accept of them, conſidering that I did nothing for the ſervice of his Catholic Majeſty, and I excuſed myſelf upon that account with all the reſpect which I was obliged to. But having no linen nor cloaths, either

for myself or for those that were with me, and the 400 crowns * which I received out of the sale of the pilchards, having been almost spent in what I gave to Mr. de Vatteville's servants; I borrowed 400 pistoles of that gentleman, which I gave my note for, and which I have repaid him since.

After my health was somewhat restored I left St. Sebastian, and took my way towards Valencia, with an intent to imbark at Vivaros, where Don Christoval assured me that Don Juan of Austria, who was at Barcelona, would send me both a frigate and a galley. I passed through all Navarre in one of the King's litters, under the name of Marquis de St. Florent, having for my conductor Mr. de Vatteville's steward, who said that I was a gentleman of Burgundy that was going to serve the King in the Milaneze. At my arrival at Tudello, a pretty considerable town, which is beyond Pampeluna, I found the people there in a pretty great commotion. They lighted fires there in the night, and kept corps-de-guards. The country farmers of the neighbourhood had made an insurrection, because they had been forbidden to hunt. They had entered the town, and had used great violences there, having even pillaged some houses. A corps-de-guards, which was placed at ten at night before the inn where I lay, began to put me in fear that the inhabitants had some suspicion of me. But the King's litter, and the muleteers who wore the King's livery, removed that fear. At midnight I saw one Don Martin come into my chamber with a very long sword and a large buckler. He told me that he was the inn-keeper's son, and that he came to give me notice that the people were in a great commotion; that they believed that I was a Frenchman, who was come to foment the revolt of the farmers; that the Alcade himself knew not what to think of it; and that it was to be feared that the worst sort of

* Joli says 600 crowns, and that he received a like sum for the sale of another parcel of pilchards brought upon the ship in which Beau-Chesne came to St. Sebastian.

mob might take hold of that pretence to rob and to murder me; and that even the corps-de-guard, which had been ſet up before the inn, began themſelves to murmur and to grow inflamed. I deſired Don Martin to ſhew them without affectation the King's litter, and to bring them to ſpeak with the muleteers, and with Don Pedro, Mr. de Vatteville's ſteward. This laſt came into my chamber at that ſame inſtant to tell me that they were Endemoniados *, who underſtood neither rhime nor reaſon, and that they had threatened to murder him himſelf. We paſſed the whole night in this manner, having for ſerenadoes a multitude of confuſed voices that ſung, or rather howled ſongs againſt the French. I thought fit the next morning to ſhew theſe men by our aſſured countenance, that they were miſtaken in taking us for Frenchmen. But as I was offering to go out to maſs, I met a centinel at the door, who made me get into my chamber again haſtily enough, by putting the but end of his muſket to my head, and by telling me that he was ordered by the Alcade to command me in the King's name to keep where I was. I ſent Don Martin to the Alcade to tell him who I was, and Don Pedro went along with him. The Alcade came immediately to me. He left his wand at the door, and kneeling to me, he kiſſed the ſkirt of my coat; but he declared that he could not let me go till he had an order for it from the Count de San Eſtevan, viceroy of Navarre, who was at Pampeluna. Don Pedro went to him with an officer of the town, and they came back with many excuſes from the viceroy. They gave me a convoy of 50 ſoldiers mounted upon aſſes, who accompanied me as far as Cortés.

I continued my journey through Sarragoſſa, the capital city of Arragon, a large and fine town. I was ſurprized to the laſt degree to hear in the ſtreets every body talking French. There is indeed a vaſt number of French in that place, moſt of them are

* Perſons poſſeſſed.

artizans,

artizans, who are more attached to Spain than even the Spaniards themſelves. The Duke de Monteleon, a Neapolitan of the houſe of Pignatelly, viceroy of Arragon, ſent a gentleman to meet me upon the road at three or four leagues diſtance from the town, and to tell me that he would have come himſelf with all the gentry, if the King his maſter had not ſent him word to obey my orders, which he knew would be againſt his coming. This compliment, which, as you ſee, was very civil, was accompanied with all poſſible marks of kindneſs, and with all manner of refreſhments which I met with at Sarragoſſa. Before one enters the town on the ſide on which I went, one ſees the Alcaçar * of the ancient Kings of the Moors, which belongs at preſent to the inquiſition. There is near it a walk of trees, in which I ſaw a prieſt walking. The gentleman belonging to the viceroy told me, that that prieſt was the curate of Occa, a very antient town in Arragon, and that the curate was there performing quarantain, after having buried, three weeks ſince, his laſt pariſhioner, who was in reality the laſt man of twelve thouſand who had died of the plague in his pariſh. The ſame gentleman of the viceroy's ſhewed me all that was remarkable at Sarragoſſa. I went all this while under the name of Marquis de St. Florent, but the gentleman did not reflect that Nueſtra Senora del Pilar, which is the moſt famous ſanctuary of all Spain, could not be ſeen under that title. They never diſcover to the ſight of any body, that miraculous image, except to ſovereign Princes, and to Cardinals. The Marquis de St. Florent appeared to be neither, ſo that when I was ſeen within the baniſters, with a black velvet coat, and a cravat on, the multitude of people that had been brought thither by the ſound of a bell that never rings but upon account of that ceremony, thought me to be the King of England. I believe that there were above two hundred coaches full of

* Palace.

ladies, who all expreſſed the greateſt civilities to me, to which I could make a return but in very indifferent Spaniſh. That church is fine in it's ſelf, but its ornaments and riches are immenſe, and its treaſury magnificent. I was ſhewed there a man who was employed to light the lamps, the number of which is prodigious, and I was told, that he had been ſeen at the door of that church for ſeven years together but with one leg, whereas now he had two. The dean and all the prebends aſſured me, that the whole town had ſeen it as well as they; and that if I would ſtay but two days longer, I might ſpeak to above 20,000 perſons from the neighbourhood, who had ſeen him, as well as thoſe of the town. He had recovered his laſt leg (as he ſaid) by anointing himſelf with ſome oil out of the lamps. They keep there a yearly holy-day, in memory of that pretended miracle, with an incredible concourſe of people; and the truth is, that at the diſtance of a day's journey from Sarragoſſa, I ſtill met the roads full of perſons of all qualities running to it.

From the kingdom of Arragon I came into that of Valencia, which may not only be called the wholeſomeſt, but likewiſe the fineſt country in the world. Pomegranate-trees, orange-trees, and lemon-trees, ſerve there for palliſadoes to all the great roads. The fineſt and cleareſt waters run along them like canals. The whole country round, which is enamelled with millions of different ſorts of flowers, exhale millions of different ſorts of odours of a charming ſmell. I arrived through that country, at Vivaros, where Don Ferdinando Carillo Zuatra, general of the galleys of Naples, joined me the next day with the admiral galley of his ſquadron, an excellent and fine ſhip, and reinforced with the beſt part of the galley-ſlaves, and of the ſoldiers, belonging to the vice-admiral's galley, that had been in a manner diſarmed for that purpoſe. Don Ferdinando brought me a letter from Don Juan of Auſtria, as finely writ, and as well turned, as any one I have ever ſeen.

He-

He left it to my choice either to make use of that galley, or of a frigate of Dunkirk of 36 guns, that was in that port. This last was the safest to pass the gulf of Lions, in so far advanced a season, for we were in the month of October. I chose the galley, which (as you will see) was not wisely done of me. Don Christoval de Cardonna, a knight of St. James's, arrived at Vivaros a quarter of an hour after Don Ferdinando Carillo, and he told me that the Duke de Montalte, viceroy of Valencia, had sent him to offer me all that he had in his power; that he knew that I had refused his Catholick Majesty's present at St. Sebastian; that he durst not for that reason press me to accept what the Pagueloi of the galleys was ordered to bring me; but that knowing that the precipitancy with which I had left France, had not given me time to take much money with me; knowing besides, that being very liberal, I should not be sorry to give some regale to the people on board the galley; he hoped that I would not refuse some little refreshments to that purpose. These refreshments consisted of six great chests full of all sorts of sweet-meats made at Valencia; of twelve dozen pair of Spanish gloves, of an exquisite smell; and of a perfumed purse, in which there were two thousand pieces of gold coined in the Indies, which were worth two thousand five or six hundred pistoles. I accepted the present without any manner of difficulty, and my answer was, That as I did not find myself in a condition to do his Catholic Majesty any service, I thought that I should have been wanting to my duty all manner of ways, if I had accepted the considerable sums which were brought to me from him at St. Sebastian, and which were offered me at Vivaros by his order; but that I should think likewise I was wanting to the respect I owed to so great a Monarch, if I should refuse to accept this last present, which he was pleased to honour me with. This was the reason of my accepting of it; but before I embarked I presented the captain of the galley with the sweet-meats, I gave

the gloves to Don Ferdinando, and I ſent the gold by Don Pedro to the Baron de Vatteville, with a letter importing that having heard him ſay ſeveral times how imbarraſſed he was by reaſon of the great expence which he was put to for finiſhing the building the admiral's ſhip for the Weſt-Indies, which was upon the ſtocks at St. Sebaſtian, I ſent him a ſmall grain, as a remedy againſt his head-ach, for ſo he called the pain which the building of that ſhip coſt him. My manner of acting on this occaſion was a little over-ſtrained. I was in the right to give the refreſhments to the captain, and as for the gloves it was a thing indifferent to keep them for myſelf, or to give them to Don Ferdinando; but it had been prudent in me to have kept the gold. The Spaniards have never forgiven it me, and have attributed to my averſion, a refuſal which was in effect but the natural conſequence of the reſolution which I had taken of never accepting money from any body.

I imbarked at the ſecond watch of the night, the wind being high, but going before it, it did not incommode us much. Our ſhip ran fifteen miles an hour, and we arrived the next day at Majorca. The plague being in Arragon, all the ſhips that came from the coaſt of Spain were obliged to call at that iſland. It was with a pretty deal of difficulty that we could obtain leave to have any communication with the town, the magiſtrates oppoſing it with vigour. The viceroy, who is not near ſo abſolute in that iſland as other viceroys are in Spain, and who had received an order from the King his maſter to do me all the civilities poſſible, obtained at laſt by his inſtances, leave for me, and for thoſe that belonged to me, to come into the town, upon condition that I ſhould not lie in it. We thought this, you may be ſure, pretty odd, becauſe the contagious air may be carried to a place, though you do not lie in it. I was ſaying it in the afternoon to a gentleman of Majorca, who made me the following anſwer, which I took notice of, becauſe it may be applied to a thouſand occaſions

ſſons one may meet with. 'We are not afraid of your 'bringing here the contagious air, becauſe we know 'that you have not paſſed at Occa; but having been 'pretty near it, we are glad to make you an example, 'which will not incommode you, and of which the 'conſequences will be of ſervice to us.' This has ſomething ſtronger, and even more gallant, in the Spaniſh tongue than in ours.

The viceroy, who was a Count of the kingdom of Arragon, came to fetch me with 100 or 120 coaches, full of perſons of diſtinction, having the beſt air of any in Spain. He carried me to maſs at the Leo, which is a name they give to all cathedrals. I ſaw there between thirty and forty women of quality all handſomer one than another, and what is wonderful, is, that there is no ugly woman in all the iſland, or at leaſt they are very few in number. Their beauty for the moſt part is of the moſt delicate kind, and their complexion all lillies and roſes; even the ordinary women that walk the ſtreets are all ſuch. They have a particular ſort of dreſs, which is very becoming. The viceroy gave me a magnificent dinner in a rich tent of gold brocade, which was ſet up by the ſea-ſide. He carried me afterwards to a concert of muſic in a convent of nuns, nothing inferior in beauty to the ladies of the town. They ſang at their grate, in honour of their ſaint, airs, and words more gallant and more paſſionate than thoſe of Lambert *. Towards evening we walked round the town, and ſaw the fineſt country imaginable, and ſuch as we had ſeen in the kingdom of Valencia. After walking we came to the vice-queen, who was as ugly as the Devil, and who, being ſeated under a large canopy, and all covered over with precious ſtones, gave a marvellous luſtre to threeſcore ladies that ſat round her, who were the choiceſt beauties of the town. I was brought back to the galley with fifty white wax flambeaux, whilſt all

* A famous muſician of Paris, whoſe daughter Signior Baptiſto Lully married.

the guns of the ramparts were diſcharged, and whilſt a vaſt number of hautboys and trumpets were playing. I ſpent in theſe diverſions the three days which the bad weather forced me to ſtay at Majorca. I left that iſland upon the fourth with a freſh gale of wind behind us, which carried us fifty leagues in twelve hours, ſo that I arrived ſafely before night at Port-Mahon, which is the fineſt port in the Mediterranean. The entrance into it is very ſtrait, and I do not believe that two gallies could paſs in it at once. It widens on a ſudden, and forms an oblong wet dock of a good half league broad, and a good league long. A great hill that ſurrounds it on all ſides forms a theatre, which by the number and height of the trees that cover it, and by the waters that fall from it in great abundance, opens thouſands and thouſands of ſcenes, more ſurprizing, without exaggeration, than thoſe of our Operas. That ſame hill, the trees, the rocks, guard the port againſt all winds, ſo that in the moſt tempeſtuous weather the water is always calm and ſmooth. It is equally deep every where, and the Spaniſh galleons can ride in it at four ſteps diſtance from the ground. This port is in the iſland of Minorca, which furniſhes more fleſh, and more of all ſorts of proviſions neceſſary for ſhips, than that of Majorca furniſhes pomegranates, oranges and lemons.

The weather grew extremely ſtormy after our arrival in this port, which obliged us to ſtay there for four days. We tried four times to put to ſea, but the wind would not give us leave. Don Ferdinando Carillo, who was a young gentleman of quality, of twenty-four years of age, mighty civil and mighty kind, ſought to procure me all the diverſion that that fine place would afford. We found there hunting of all kinds, and fiſhing in abundance. A way of fiſhing particular to that port was this: Don Ferdinando choſe a hundred Turks out of his ſhip's crew, who were ſet in rank, and were made to hold a very large cable. Four of the Turks dived to the bottom and tied the cable to a large ſtone, which their companions drew

drew by that means upon the ſhore, after having uſed incredible efforts about it. The breaking of that ſtone with hammers, proved not much leſs difficult. They found in it ſeven or eight ſhell-fiſh, leſs than oyſters in bigneſs, but of a higher reliſh beyond compariſon.

The weather growing calmer we put to ſea with a deſign to paſs the gulf of Lyons, which begins there, and is one hundred leagues long and forty broad. It is extremely dangerous, as well becauſe of the ſands, which they ſay it abounds with, as becauſe it has no port any where. The coaſt of Barbary which bounds it on one ſide, is often not approachable: That of Languedoc which joins it on the other ſide, is very bad. In ſhort, that paſſage is not at all to be liked for gallies when the ſeaſon is advancing towards winter, and it was pretty far advanced for us, the month of November being near approaching, when bluſtering winds are always blowing. Don Ferdinando, who was one of the moſt venturesome gentlemen in Spain, confeſſed to me that a ſmall frigate had been better on this occaſion than the ſtrongeſt galley. We paſſed the gulph in thirty-ſix hours time with the fineſt weather in the world, and with a wind which at the ſame time that it ſerved us, did not oblige us to ſet up any light upon our ſtern. We entered in this manner into the channel which is between Corſica and Sardinia. Don Ferdinand Carillo perceiving ſome clouds which made him fear a change of weather, propoſed to me to go and caſt anchor at Porto Condé, which is an uninhabited place in Sardinia, which I agreed to; but his fear vaniſhing away with the clouds, he altered his mind, that he might not loſe the fair weather, which was a great piece of good luck for me; for Mr. de Guiſe, who was going to Naples with a French fleet, had caſt anchor at that place with ſix galleys. Don Ferdinand Carillo, who was informed of it two days after, told me that he would have made but little account of theſe ſix galleys, having on board his own 450 men, which was enough to have reſiſted them.

But

But it had been however an encounter, which a man who was escaping from prison, would sooner still have avoided than any other. The fort of St. Boniface, which is in Corsica, and belongs to the Genoese, fired forty gunshots when they perceived us, and being at too great a distance from the fort to take this for a salute, we judged that it was a signal which they gave us, as it was true, for it was to give us notice of the enemies being at Porto Condé. We did not understand it this way, and we thought that it was to let us know that a small frigate which we saw before us at the coming out of the channel, was a Turkish pirate, as it appeared to be by the garb. Don Ferdinand took it into his head to attack it, and he told me that if I would permit him he would give me the pleasure of seeing a fight that would not last above a quarter of an hour. He ordered his pilot to give chace to the frigate, which indeed seemed to make the best of its way in order to avoid us. The pilot, who was intent upon nothing but the obeying that order, did not mind a shelf which though it did not appear above water, is so well known that it is even marked out in maps. Our galley struck againſt it, and nothing being more dangerous at sea, every body began to lament. All the slaves rose up, trying to undo their fetters and to escape by swimming. Don Ferdinand Carillo, who was playing at piquet with Joly in the stern-room, threw to me the first sword that he could find, crying to me to draw it out. He drew out his and slashed all the slaves he met, as did likewise his officers and soldiers, being afraid that the whole crew of slaves, among whom there were many Turks, would make themselves masters of the galley, as it has sometimes happened on such occasions. After they had all taken again their usual places, he said to me with the greatest calm and assurance possible: 'My order, Sir, is, first 'of all to take care of you; I must therefore provide 'for your safety, and will afterwards see whether the 'galley be damaged.' He ordered, at this, four slaves to take me up, and to put me into the Felucca.

Thirty

Thirty Spaniſh ſoldiers came into it likewiſe by his order, whom he commanded to carry me upon a little rock which appeared near us, and on which not above four or five perſons could find room. The ſoldiers were in the water to the middle, which I took compaſſion at, and finding that our galley was not damaged, I was for ſending them back to it; but they told me that if thoſe of Corſica, who ſtood upon the ſhore, perceived me to be without a good guard, they would infallibly come to pillage and murder me; theſe barbarians fancying that all that is caſt away belongs to them.

The galley was not damaged, which was a kind of miracle. They were however above two hours in ſetting it to rights. The Felucca came to take me up, and I was glad when I found myſelf again upon the galley. As we were coming out of the channel, we ſtill perceived the frigate, which was purſuing its way after having found that we had ceaſed to give her chace. But we began again to do it, and ſhe to run away from us. We joined her in leſs than two hours time, and we found that it was in effect a Turkiſh ſhip, but that it belonged to the Genoeſe, who had taken it from the Turks and had ſet it out. To tell you the truth, I was very glad to ſee this adventure end in this manner, this ſort of war being not to my liking. The weather growing ſomewhat foul, Don Ferdinand thought fit to go to Porto Vecchio, which is another uninhabited port of Corſica. A trumpeter came thither from the governor of a fort belonging to the Genoeſe, which is juſt by it, to give us notice, that Mr. de Guiſe was at Porto Condé with ſix French galleys; that it was likely that he had ſeen us paſs by, and perhaps that he intended to come and ſurprize us there in the night-time. Upon this we reſolved to put out to ſea again, though the weather began to be very tempeſtuous, and that it was even ſomewhat dangerous to come out of Porto Vecchio during the night, becauſe that at the mouth of it there is a rock from whence there deſcends a pretty troubleſome current.

rent. The foul weather encreaſed with the night, and we were perhaps attacked with the greateſt ſtorm that was ever ſeen at ſea. The pilot in chief of the galleys of Naples, who was on board of us, and who had uſed the ſea for fifty years, ſaid that he had never ſeen the like. Every body were at their prayers, or were confeſſing themſelves; and none but Don Ferdinand Carillo, who received the communion every day when he was on ſhore, and who was a gentleman of an exemplary piety, forbore ſhewing any forwardneſs to proſtrate himſelf at the feet of the prieſts. He left others at liberty to do what they pleaſed, but he kept quiet himſelf; and he whiſpered theſe words into my ear: 'I am much afraid that all theſe confeſſions, 'extorted only by fear, are nought.' He remained all along upon the deck, giving his orders with a ſurprizing coolneſs, and heartening, but mildly and civilly, an old ſoldier who appeared a little frightened. I ſhall always remember that he called him Sennora Soldado de Carlos Quinto. The private captain of the galley cauſed, in the greateſt height of the danger, his embroidered coat and his red ſcarf to be brought to him, ſaying that a true Spaniard ought to die bearing his King's marks of diſtinction. He ſat himſelf down in a great elbow-chair, and with his foot ſtruck a poor Neapolitan in the chops, who not being able to ſtand upon the courſey of the galley, was crawling along, crying out aloud, *Sennor Don Fernando por l'amor de Dios confeſſion.* The captain, when he ſtruck him, ſaid to him; *Inimigo de Dios piedes confeſſion?* And as I was repreſenting to him that his inference was not right, he ſaid that that old man gave offence to the whole galley. You cannot imagine the horror of a great ſtorm; you can as little imagine the ridicule mixed with it. A Sicilian Obſervantine Monk was preaching at the foot of the great maſt, that St. Francis had appeared to him, and had aſſured him that we ſhould not periſh. I ſhould never have done, ſhould I undertake to deſcribe the ridiculous frights that are ſeen on theſe occaſions.

The

The great danger lasted but seven hours, after which we sought for a little shelter under the Piarouse. Finding the wind to abate, we got to Porto-longone. We spent there the feast of All-Saints and that of All-Souls, the wind being contrary for us to come out of the port. The governor, a Spaniard, shewed me all the civility imaginable; and finding that the wind continued to be contrary, he advised me to go and see Porto-ferraro. There is but five miles distance from one port to the other, and I went thither on horseback.

I have already told you that nothing so agreeable can be seen in the rural scenes of an opera, as the scene at Port-Mahon; and I may be allowed to tell you now with as much truth, that there is nothing so magnificent in the most stately scenes you ever saw there, as is to be seen at Porto-ferraro. None but a man versed in fortifications can well describe it, and I will only tell you that the strength of it surpasses its magnificence. It is the only place in the world that is impregnable, as the Mareschal de la Meilleraie confessed. He went to visit it, after having taken Porto-longone during the regency, and being an impetuous man, he told the commander Grifoni, who commanded in it for the Great Duke of Tuscany, that the fortification of it was good, but that if the King his Master commanded him to attack it, he would give him a good account of it in six weeks time. The commander Grifoni replied, that he took too long a term, and that the Great Duke was so much the King's humble servant, that a moment would suffice. The Mareschal was ashamed of having spoken so rashly, or rather so brutishly; and to make the commander some amends, he said to him: 'You 'are a gallant man, and I am a fool. I confess that 'your place is impregnable.' The Mareschal related this story to me at Nantes, and Grifoni, who still commanded in that place when I passed there, confirmed it to me.

The wind suffering us to come out of Porto-longone, we landed at Piombino, which is upon the coast of Tuscany. I left the galley at that place, after I had given

to

to the officers, to the ſoldiers, and to the crew of ſlaves, all the money I had left, and even the chain which his Catholick Majeſty had given to Bois-guerin. I bought it of him, and I ſold it to the factor of Prince Ludoviſio, who is Prince of Piombino. I kept but nine piſtoles, which I thought would be ſufficient to carry me to Florence.

I am obliged to ſay, for the ſake of truth, that never men deſerved better to be gratified than thoſe who were upon that galley. Their diſcretion in reſpect to me is perhaps without example. They were above 600 men, of whom there was not one but knew me; and of all that number there was not one that gave the leaſt demonſtration of it, either to myſelf or to any other. Their gratitude was equal to their diſcretion. They were touched to that degree with the gratification that I gave them, that they all wept when I left them to go to Piombino. This was, properly ſpeaking, the place where I recovered my liberty, which till that time had run ſome riſk, as the adventures which I have related will ſhew.

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